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CITIZENSHIP

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ETHICS

CITIZENSHIP

An Introduction to Social Ethics

BY

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Dean of the School of Education
University of Utah



WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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*Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York
World Book Company*

1917

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BO-1

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NOV 14 1917
JUL 10 1917
MAR 10 1917

TO
CORA LINDSAY BENNION
TO WHOSE LOYALTY AND DEVOTION TO THE IDEALS
OF THE HOME ARE DUE WHATEVER OF MERIT
THERE MAY BE IN THE CHAPTERS THAT
DEAL WITH THE FAMILY

PREFACE

THIS book is the result of six years of experimentation in teaching ethics to college freshman and senior high-school students in the University of Utah. The topics have been developed in class discussion and afterwards written up by each student, who thus made his own text.

In 1913 the Utah State Board of Education published the outline of this course for use in high schools. The subject has been taught successfully for several years past by a number of instructors, while others have hesitated for want of a suitable textbook. Persistent calls for such a book have led the author to hope that it may be of service — a service not limited, however, to the classroom. The problems of citizenship are of vital concern to all the people. Every voter should be firmly grounded in the fundamental principles of social ethics and should be able to apply these principles to current political and social questions.

Gratitude is due the many students of the University of Utah who, as members of the classes in Ethics, have furnished the opportunity and the inspiration to carry on an experiment in teaching. Their responses and frank criticisms have helped materially to mold the course.

A year's residence at the University of Wisconsin, after the course had been tried out, enabled the author to clarify principles and to acquire illustrative material. Acknowledgment is due especially to

Professor Frank C. Sharp for his clear exposition of ethical principles and fruitful experiments in moral education. The democratic achievements of Wisconsin and the leadership of its great university are deeply appreciated by the author.

The manuscript of this volume has been critically examined by Professor Ephraim E. Ericksen and Mrs. Venice Farnsworth Anderson, the author's colleagues in the Department of Philosophy; and by Miss Marian E. Jones, his secretary. Professor Ericksen and Mrs. Anderson have offered valuable suggestions as to content and method; Mrs. Anderson has also used the manuscript as an outline in teaching her class in Ethics of Citizenship and in this connection has helped to formulate the Questions and Exercises. In this work she has had the assistance of Judge Hugo B. Anderson. Miss Jones has contributed much towards clearness and brevity of expression.

Dr. Edward A. Ross, Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin; Dr. David Snedden, Professor of Educational Sociology, Teachers College, Columbia University; and Professor George Coray, of the Department of Economics and Sociology, University of Utah, have been kind enough to read the manuscript and to offer suggestions for its improvement. While the author has tried to profit by their advice, they are in no wise responsible for the deficiencies of the book.

Attention is called to the fact that the purpose of the following chapters is to stimulate appreciation

of ethical principles and the development of worthy social ideals, and to indicate how these ideals may find expression. In no case has an exhaustive treatment of topics been attempted. Effort has been made, however, to suggest a consistent point of view from which all social problems may be judged.

The chapter on The Function of Schools — a part of the student's everyday experience — is used as an introduction to the larger question of the nature and meaning of civilization. This in turn brings out the facts of race inheritance and race solidarity upon which civilization is dependent and upon which also the social obligations of the individual rest.

If occasionally we seem to soar in the clouds, it is for the purpose of getting the lay of the land — the larger view — that we may pursue an intelligent, consistent course.

In Part I the nature of society and social problems are emphasized; in Part II stress is laid upon the social obligations of the individual and the opportunities society offers each one for development through service.

As a text, this book is planned for use in the senior year of the high school or in the first year of college. At the end will be found questions and exercises on the subject of each chapter. These are designed to stimulate thoughtful consideration of social problems, both settled and unsettled. The student should acquire the habit of using his knowledge and experience in solving new problems instead of merely receiving the solution from teachers or

textbooks. The questions are not planned to cover every point in the text, nor are all the problems presented to the student discussed in the text. As a rule each subject will occupy two or more lesson periods. The student should study the questions and exercises carefully and fully before reading the text, and again afterwards if necessary to clarify principles. It may be well for the teacher to revise and supplement this part of the work in order to meet local conditions, topics of the day, and past experiences of students. In any case, however, great care should be taken to introduce each subject by thought-stimulating questions, and to avoid mere memory exercises.

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INTRODUCTION

THE American people, in establishing and extending its system of free public elementary schools, has always had in mind primarily the needs of a free democratic people for whom the elements of a general education were deemed necessary to the preservation of political and religious independence. But in providing for systems of secondary education and higher education, the philanthropists who first endowed our academies and colleges, and the state which provided public high schools and state universities, were inspired largely by the ideal of providing competent leaders for a democracy. Hence, in their way, our secondary and higher institutions of learning have come to be regarded as of almost equal importance with our common schools.

No one can mistake the aspirations of the American people for worthy and fully qualified leaders. At every commencement season, as our young men and women are graduated into active life, we have extolled the virtues of democracy and the responsibilities of leadership. At every corner-stone laying for new secondary school or college building we have reiterated our faith that from the buildings thus founded must come the planners and the leaders required in a republic. We have clearly seen that those who can afford to pass through our private and public high schools and undertake further study will, on the whole, be those who possess advantages of birth, rearing, and future opportunities. They

will constitute the superior portion of our population in point of native inheritance, family environment, and life prospects.

Only now, however, are we beginning clearly to see how unintelligently have we developed means and methods of definitely training for superior citizenship the hundreds of thousands of youths who voluntarily throng our middle and higher institutions of learning. It is true that the teachers in these institutions have usually been men and women of irreproachable character, even if, in some cases, they have been, as men and women, unpractical and insulated from vital contact with the contemporary activities of citizenship. These teachers have indeed maintained reasonably high standards of conduct in the student bodies, and the institutional life itself has been of a high order, well reflecting the ideals and standards of good American homes and community membership.

But it is when we examine school and college curricula themselves that we discover how meager have been the contributions actually to be derived from the studies toward the making of enlightened and practical citizenship, — a citizenship suited to the complicated demands of a twentieth-century democracy, passing through a period of exceedingly rapid evolution in its social and economic organization. The working energies of our students have been given chiefly to the study of ancient languages, modern languages, very abstract history, and still more abstract science and mathematics. The social

sciences, having now a reluctantly given place in college curricula, have been remarkably developed in our largest institutions and have awakened such an interest on the part of students as to justify their being called "the new humanities." But it can hardly be said that for our secondary schools we have developed effective social science courses in any respect. American public high schools expend on the teaching of superficial and largely unproductive French and German — to say nothing of Latin and algebra — from eight to ten millions per year. For anything like purposive and direct education for citizenship it is doubtful if we yet expend one tenth of that sum. From time to time we have introduced courses in civil government in upper grades and high schools, but it is doubtful if this very formal study has actually contributed either inspiration or enlightenment to those who will be our voters four to six years hence.

Fortunately, during the last half dozen years, the spell of tradition which has held so many of our colleges and schools in a Rip Van Winkle sleep through these stirring times of industrial, social, and intellectual revolution has been in process of breaking up. Many attempts to provide the guidance and materials for vital courses in educating for citizenship have been made. Professor Bennion's book is to me both a favorable symptom and a promising augury. It is a dignified and thoughtful attempt to meet the needs of those of our students in the last years of the high school and the first years

of the college who are ready in a practical fashion to discuss contemporary problems of citizenship in their functional aspects. The author's acquaintance with public affairs and his knowledge of education and psychology have enabled him to produce what seems to me the best working textbook of its kind now available.

As I understand it, Professor Bennion's book takes shape and character from the conviction, in the first place, that the vital needs and problems of citizenship, especially as these will be the concern and occupation of the more intelligent, highly placed, influential, and therefore responsible of our citizens, are, in most essential respects, *modern* problems, the products largely of contemporary standards and conditions of social coöperation, control, and production. In the second place, Professor Bennion is convinced — and this, I take it, largely by experience — that, granting reasonable teaching skill and facilities, the many modern problems of citizenship can be made to constitute interesting and even engrossing fields of study for young men and women of from seventeen to twenty years of age — which ought to be truly the preparatory or apprentice years of voting citizenship.

As to the merits of the content and methods of the book, I will let the text speak for itself. Its author would be the first to contend that it is necessarily a pioneering work of its kind, and that long experience and exploration will be required before finished results (pedagogically speaking) can be ex-

pected. That the book is written from a modern viewpoint; that it recognizes the vital importance of bringing students into touch with controverted issues; and that it clearly exhibits the wide range of concerns with which the active citizen must be in touch — these facts are patent. In the hands of a live teacher and interested students, interested, as Mr. H. G. Wells puts it, not less, at least, in “the discovery of the future than of the past,” it should prove a valuable instrument.

A college president — since become the president of the nation — once said in referring to the vitality shown by the voluntary activities of college students in the modern university — those of fraternities, musical and literary societies, religious bodies, organizations for athletics, and the like — that there was danger that “the side shows would overshadow the main circus.” But a sagacious critic, not an educator, at once raised the question, “Who knows but that the side shows are worth more than the circus?” Here we have implied a profound criticism applicable in large degree to all our institutions for adolescents and young citizens. It is a criticism that cannot be ignored. The institutional life itself, toward the support of which goes no income from endowments or proceeds from public taxation, may often be making more positive contributions toward developing the leaders of a democracy than are the expensive courses of instruction given by the teachers.

If our higher institutions of learning are to live up to the demand of modern democracy that they

produce genuine leaders of the people, then it is time that a much larger share of attention and teaching skill should be devoted to classroom treatment of just those problems discussed in Professor Bennion's book.

DAVID SNEDDEN

PART I

THE SOCIAL INHERITANCE AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

CITIZENSHIP

CHAPTER I

THE FUNCTION OF SCHOOLS

EVERY civilized country in the world has undertaken the development of a system of schools. Primitive education This has become necessary because of the complexity of the civilization that has to be transmitted to each new generation. Under simple primitive conditions there were no arts or systems of knowledge that could not be transmitted easily through the family and tribal organizations. Children of savages learn to hunt, to fish, to gather the fruits of the forest, and to fight, through participation in the tribal activities. Even under the more settled conditions of pastoral life children receive their meager education through sharing in the herdsman's responsibilities. The ancestral history and the tribal myths are usually learned without formal effort. The nearest approaches to formal education among savages are the initiation ceremonies by which youths are introduced to the mysteries of adult life and subjected to tests of endurance.

As the technical arts of reading, writing, and ciphering were developed, there was more to be taught. Origin of schools - Many parents were not sufficiently skilled in the three R's to teach them to their children, and those that were could not give the necessary time to teach-

ing. So teaching, of necessity, became a specialized vocation, often looked after by religious orders, but sometimes carried on as a private business. As time went on, the growing demand for universal education made imperative the establishment of publicly supported and publicly controlled systems of schools.

is ele-
mentary
school

The elementary schools are the foundations of these systems. It has been regarded as their business to transmit to children the most fundamental knowledge of the race, including the arts that are regarded as a common necessity of civilization. Even within a generation it has been commonly thought that an elementary-school education was all-sufficient for the great mass of mankind; but it is now manifest that an elementary-school education is a very inadequate preparation for the complex industrial, social, and political life of the modern youth. The accumulated knowledge of the race has grown to such proportions and has so penetrated the practical affairs of civilized peoples that the elementary school is able to make but a meager contribution towards the transmission of this community heritage.

is new
type
the high
school

While, in the past, secondary and higher schools were provided, they were adapted to the few who were preparing for the learned professions. Recently, however, the secondary school has become transformed into a popular institution for carrying on the work begun in the elementary school. In this age intelligent citizenship demands knowledge of the principles underlying such civic problems as

public hygiene and sanitation, the conservation of natural resources, control of the means of transportation, and systems of taxation. Every voter must pass judgment on various aspects of these and similar problems concerning which political parties and candidates for office often are in disagreement. The high school, therefore, offers a variety of courses in both the natural and the social sciences, in order that the youth may be able to form intelligent opinions for himself. The high school also offers such courses in mathematics and languages as may be most useful to students and necessary to the pursuit of other studies. Some high schools provide specialized training in vocations to assist the youth in qualifying for some specific form of service as his life's work. All this is done without neglecting the esthetic attainments of the race, for the high-school youth learns to enjoy the literary masterpieces and the great works of art and music.

As the function of the high school has become transformed, so, in some degree, has that of the college, which also has become a popular institution. Its business is to continue the work of the high school. Yet the racial inheritance has become so vast that even in college we seem only to be prospecting near the surface. It is in college that youths generally get their preparation for professional studies, not, however, being restricted to the few old-line professions. Modern industrial life has added to these chemical engineering, electrical engineering, agricultural engineering, plant pathology,

The college transformed

dietetics, and many other professions of recent origin. The college is not, however, merely preparatory to the study of a profession in the university. It introduces youth to a larger world and better living, and this is, after all, its greater purpose.

is
iversity

Likewise the university is not merely a collection of professional schools. It is the chief conservator of the sum total of human attainment. Through its many departments and devoted specialists it aims to retain and transmit all valuable knowledge, and to extend this knowledge for the enlightenment of present and future generations.

ucation
develop-
ment

Attention to this social function of schools should not lead to oversight of the fact that the school must also seek the welfare of the individual student, that he may conserve physical and mental health, develop his talents, and cultivate a disposition to use his knowledge and abilities in the service of his fellow men.

CHAPTER II

THE MEANING OF CIVILIZATION

THE civilization of a people begins when they acquire valuable knowledge and skill that can be transmitted from one generation to the next. Origin of civilization

It is impossible to draw sharp lines between savagery, barbarism, and civilization. The beginnings of civilization may readily be discovered in the life of savage tribes. They have genealogy, myth, and folklore as oral traditions that are handed on to posterity. Mythology is the forerunner of science, philosophy, and religion. Among primitive men myth satisfies the instinct of curiosity, common to mankind, as science and philosophy satisfy the same instinct in more highly developed men.

"How was the earth created?" "What was the origin of plants and animals, of wind and storm, of fire, volcanoes, lightning?" "How were the heavenly bodies created, and how are they related to human destiny?" Mythology is the collective answer of primitive peoples to these questions. When individuals begin to turn from the fanciful explanations of mythology and to seek the cause of things in nature itself, these individuals herald a new and very important forward movement of civilization. Knowledge of the causes of the various phenomena of nature that affect the life of man is the chief means by which he acquires control over his environment. This control, as a means of prog-

ress, is well illustrated in scientific farming, in the use of steam and electric power, and in the applications of chemistry in manufacturing industries. In these cases the forces of nature are made to serve human purposes. In other cases, where control is impossible, knowledge of the laws of nature enables man to regulate his own conduct in such a way that he will not readily be crushed by nature. It is this type of knowledge and self-control that enables man to preserve his health and materially prolong his life.

actical
is

Another aspect of the beginnings of civilization relates to discoveries of practical arts, a knowledge of which is transmitted by each generation to the next. Among these arts is the use of fire. Although very primitive, this is one of the most important discoveries in the early history of mankind. Besides ministering to man's immediate comfort, the use of fire is essential to innumerable arts characteristic of a high type of civilization. The use of tools, however simple, is a discovery that ranks in importance with the discovery of the use of fire. Long practice in the use of simple tools is a necessary race experience before complicated machinery can be invented. The domestication of animals made possible a more stable economic life than that of the hunter or fisherman; while the domestication of plants paved the way for settled agricultural life. In this, too, knowledge of the use of tools in tilling the soil, planting, and harvesting was an important factor. The progress man has made

in the art of agriculture may be noted to-day by comparing the farming operations carried on by the native populations in Egypt and western Asia with the methods used by scientifically trained farmers in Europe and America.

With settled community life there comes normally a greater demand for manufactured articles, both for private and public use. The development of new industries, together with a growing demand for the products of other lands, leads to the establishment of trade and commerce; and this, again, leads to new inventions in the means of transportation and communication. Thus, on the industrial side, civilization is an ever increasing accumulation of knowledge and manual skill that can be transmitted to successive generations to help satisfy the ever increasing wants of mankind. Commerce

An analogous development takes place on the spiritual side of social life. It is manifest in the birth of new sciences. Philosophy is the first or general science — sometimes called the mother of the sciences, since many of the older sciences emerged from philosophy. But the offspring of philosophy have also been fertile and surprisingly prolific. As knowledge increases, each science gives birth to new sciences until they are likely to become as numerous as the sands upon the seashore. Science

In literature, each generation contributes something to the accumulated store, though critics may doubt that the later contributions excel the earlier. The modern student, at any rate, has a much more Literature

extensive field from which to select the literature most agreeable to his taste. The languages, too, grow, thus making possible the expression of more varied thoughts and emotions.

the art

Art is the visual expression of the esthetic emotions and marks very distinctly the development of one aspect of civilization. To the civilized man, however, primitive art is often crude and grotesque.

music

Music is to the ear what art is to the eye. The savage expresses himself in rhythm of voice and body, sometimes reinforced with a crude instrument. Although soothing and satisfying to the untutored, the music of the savage is too elementary for civilized man. Much of it is expressive of the vulgar and the sensual. The art and music of a civilized people normally manifest a development toward the refined and the spiritual, expressed in a complexity of tone and color beyond the comprehension of primitive man.

social
morality

The above are some of the more manifest signs of civilization. There are others more subtle and more significant. These pertain to social morality. From this point of view civilization is an ideal to be attained. The so-called civilizations of ancient states, although rich in literature, art, and philosophy, were in social morality too poor to endure. Whether the same will be said of modern nations depends upon whether or not contemporary peoples awaken to a sense of their social obligations. These obligations include a fellow feeling toward all mankind, a sense of justice in social relations, a subjection of

bodily appetites and passions to the well-being of the present and future generations, and, in general, a consecration of individual ability and effort to the permanent welfare of mankind. When this ideal has been realized, man will have attained a civilization that is clearly distinguishable from savagery.

CHAPTER III

THE MATERIAL BENEFITS OF CIVILIZATION

million
needs

ONE who has never lived with primitive people, or in other isolation from civilization, is likely to go through life with very slight appreciation of the material comforts he every day experiences. People usually appreciate only what they regard as luxuries, and a luxury ceases to be such as soon as it becomes commonplace. Riding in a wagon may be a luxury to the man who has been compelled to walk. But when the farmer began to ride in a carriage, the wagon, as a means of conveyance, became an object of contempt. Now the carriage is being superseded by the automobile, and again the luxury of yesterday is the commonplace of to-day.

We are here concerned especially with man's well-being in respect to his food, shelter, clothing, and freedom from everything that is destructive of life and health. What has civilization done for man in these respects?

• life
the
rage

The uncivilized man has to fight with the beasts for his food and clothing and to maintain his shelter against all comers, with the arms provided him by nature. A fair substitute for observation of this type of life may be had by reading Parkman's "Jesuits in North America." The poor savages among whom the Jesuit missionaries labored had acquired so few of the arts of civilization that their food supply was secure for only a brief season. This

food gone, they took to the woods and the plains in search of game. For days, in the bitter cold of a Canadian winter, they faced starvation with no assurance of relief. They crouched all night around camp fires in lieu of having adequate clothing and shelter. It was fortunate they had learned the use of fire. Without this beginning of civilized arts they would have been reduced to a choice between death and migrating with the seasons, thereby coming in conflict with others seeking the same meager existence. But the Indians of Canada were saved not only by their knowledge of the use of fire; they knew something of the use of tools and had made some advancement in the domestication of plants and animals. The lives of these savages, as described by Parkman, were after all far more secure than would have been possible with a total absence of that knowledge which is characteristic of civilization.

In the early stages of their development, peoples are usually subject to forces destructive of life and health. They feel this and their own impotence so keenly that they universally depend for relief upon their appeal to unseen and uncertain powers. Thus each tribe has its "tohunga," or medicine man, whose business it is, by incantations and ceremonies, to ward off the blighting power of spirits and of other persons of his own kind. The life of the savage is one of perpetual fear of occult powers.

Contrast with this the situation of man in a civilized community. There is, of course, too much in-

The life
of civilized
man

equality in the distribution of the necessities of life, yet it is true of communities in general that they have an abundance of food from year to year, ample clothing for comfort, and dwellings of which the meanest would be a palace to the savage. When there is want, the privation is usually due to the destructive agencies of war, the tyranny of rulers, or grossly unjust social practices that mark the imperfect state of civilization.

In the protection of life and health, scientific knowledge and practical experience have taught men how to care for their bodies and how to overcome the unseen microbes that threaten their destruction. Means are being discovered of prolonging the lives of all who will profit by the sciences of hygiene and sanitation. Unfortunately, some men have so much confidence in the power of man over nature that they frequently ignore the laws of hygiene in order to satisfy their desires for pleasure, all the time vainly hoping that when the evil day of retribution comes, they may be saved from the natural consequences of their sins by some new discovery of science.

Moral
values

The modern civilized man has passed far beyond the point where he is satisfied with a mere living. Supplementary to the three essentials, food, clothing, and shelter, man wants all sorts of material goods that the arts of civilization can supply abundantly. They may minister to his esthetic tastes, to his intellectual satisfactions, and to his desire to be of greatest service in the world; or they may

THE MATERIAL BENEFITS OF CIVILIZATION 13

minister to his vanity and perverse desires merely. Indeed, the same material object may serve either a good or a bad purpose in accordance with the motives of the user. The automobile is one of the most serviceable machines. It can be used to expedite business and to promote health and social pleasures, or it may be a means of bankrupting the improvident or of destroying the lives of reckless joy riders and all who cross their path. The flying machine may be used to carry a message of peace and good will, or it may be used to destroy the lives of innocent people. It is evident, therefore, that although the material goods of civilization are innumerable, their moral value is all relative to human purposes.

CHAPTER IV

OUR SCIENTIFIC INHERITANCE

he work
of special-
ists

IN the preceding chapter we have referred to some of the material benefits of scientific knowledge. It should be noted that all civilized peoples reap these benefits in large measure, even though many individuals may be quite ignorant of the principles daily applied for their comfort and convenience. Most of these benefits come through the work of specialists, upon whom all are dependent and through whom highly technical knowledge is preserved, developed, and transmitted. Of this class are the specialists in medicine and surgery, in bacteriology and pathology, in chemistry and engineering. Without highly trained scientists in these and many other professions, civilization would rapidly retrograde.

origin of
science

It is our purpose here, however, to consider the value of science from points of view other than the material. Science arose out of mental as much as out of physical needs. While the need of land surveys was a factor in developing geometry, and the need of guidance on the ocean and on the desert helped to develop astronomy, the instinct of curiosity has also been a powerful influence in the history of science.

Early man wondered most about the nature of the world in which he lived. "What is the origin of things?" "How are they related to each other?"

"What is to be their future destiny?" These are the large, general questions common to science and philosophy in their primitive stages. Of necessity the earlier answers to these questions were largely guesses. Nevertheless, they provided a degree of satisfaction to the knowledge-hungry mind. With the development of scientific instruments and methods of observation more definite problems can be studied, resulting in the development of bodies of systematic knowledge. This process is well illustrated in the astronomical studies of the first philosophers of Greece. Through observation of the stars and a little figuring, they were able to gain some knowledge of the causes of an eclipse, and to calculate when an eclipse would occur. By this means superstition and fear gave way to understanding. This new knowledge was frequently opposed by those who were still slaves to superstition. Time, together with patience and persistence on the part of investigators, has been the means by which scientific views have come to prevail.

The use of the telescope and the microscope in modern times has opened to man new worlds that stir the imagination and command the admiration of sensitive minds in ways never before possible. This function of science in human life is most admirably set forth by Mr. Thomas Davidson under the caption "Education as World Building." Mr. Davidson shows how an individual may have a large or a small world, a world that is well ordered or one that is chaotic. A youth who acquires

Education
as world
building

knowledge of the chief results of scientific investigations, thereby enlarges his intellectual horizon many fold. What are the stars, the Milky Way, and the immensity of space to one who pays no heed to astronomical studies? And what of the myriad forms of minute organisms that make or mar the development of the higher plants and animals? Are these within or without the world of one who has no knowledge of biology? Science has made the natural world of to-day large and glorious, an inspiration to every youth of energy and ambition. Such a youth shrinks from a narrow, paltry world because it does not harmonize with his own life and his own ideal of human progress. It is due to persistent efforts of many generations of men that these sciences have been gradually developed and are now offered in schools as a free gift from mankind to each youth who will seek to understand.

social
nces

Very early in the history of science man studied his own nature. He questioned his own powers of discovering truth, of distinguishing between right and wrong, or of maintaining a social order. These closely related problems of skepticism are frequently connected with the mental awakening of a people or of an individual. As such they foreshadow the attainment of some real knowledge of mental processes, both individual and social, and also a sense of the limits of human knowledge. The modern sciences of psychology, sociology, ethics, economics, and political science are the outcome of reflections and inquiries begun by the Greeks and developed

with remarkable rapidity within a generation. While the study of the natural sciences broadens one's world beyond measure, the study of the social sciences adds depth and meaning, and when joined with training in some phase of applied natural science, gives the individual a power of social service incomprehensible to primitive man.

CHAPTER V

OUR LITERARY INHERITANCE

terature
id na-
mal life

WITHOUT a literature a people cannot be a community or a nation. Even primitive tribes have a bond of union in myths, songs, and traditions in which all share. The strongest and most enduring bond of union a people can have is a common ideal. It may be religious — a common belief and worship; or it may be political — unyielding devotion to democratic methods of government. These and other ideals are often expressed in a national literature. Crude poetry is the typical form of primitive literary expression and is usually sung or chanted and danced. The rhythm of both words and music is pleasing to the untutored mind. This form of recital also aids memory, and is especially helpful to people who have no written language. It is probably true of every people that they have developed a literature which has been transmitted through many generations before means of writing have been discovered. Native races, such as the Polynesians, who have but recently come in contact with civilized peoples, have a considerable literature, in the broad sense of the term, that has come down by oral methods through many generations. Each generation sang and chanted this literature to its immediate successor. Thus the life of a people is bound up with its history and common ideals. The more highly developed this

literature, the more intense becomes the national or community life.

The Greeks developed a very high type of literature in advance of their written records. The Homeric poems were sung by several generations before they were written down. These poems very well exemplify the embodiment of a national ideal in literature. The fact that the Homeric poems were long used as almost the sole basis of literary education and preparation for citizenship in a city-state is evidence of their power to mold youth in conformity with that ideal.

Greek and
Roman
literature

In Italy the Roman character found expression in the Laws of the Twelve Tables, which were likewise developed and transmitted orally long before they were written. As with the Homeric poems in Greece, so in Rome the Laws of the Twelve Tables became the basis of the literary education of the Roman boy and also the foundation of his training for citizenship. To these early and characteristically national literatures the Greeks and Romans added many of the world's masterpieces in poetry, drama, oratory, history, and philosophy — in all, one of the richest contributions to civilization.

One other literature is preëminent — that of the Hebrews. When the inhabitants of Europe were, for the most part, still savages, the Hebrew prophets were creating religious poetry that still holds first place among all the literatures of its kind. This is the great contribution to the spiritual uplift of hu-

Hebrew
literature

manity. It began as a purely national literature, expressive of the genius of its authors and their people. It has become an international literature in Europe and America, and much of it has molded the thoughts and feelings of western Asia and northern Africa. Not only is Hebrew literature fundamental to Christianity, it has also inspired the religion and the literature of the Mohammedan world.

ther
iental
eratures

Among the ancients there were other great literatures that have now become a part of our common heritage, although they have been less influential — partly, at least, because less known. The national ideals of the Chinese are expressed in the writings of Confucius, of Mencius, and of Lao-tse. Hindu character found expression in the Vedas and the teachings of Buddha. The Book of the Dead reveals the ideals of the ancient Egyptians, and there has recently been unearthed in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley a great wealth of literature that is bringing to light the inner life of the ancient inhabitants of Babylonia. All of these literatures contribute to the enrichment of our lives and to our fellowship with mankind.

modern
eratures

In modern times each great nation has developed its own literature — the Italian, the English, the French, the Spanish, and the German have already become common property of the civilized world. Recently Russia, Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries have produced world-renowned works that have been translated into the languages of all civilized peoples.

To appreciate fully a foreign literature — ancient or modern — a person must master the language in which it was written. This, Dr. William T. Harris called “putting on the spiritual clothing of a people.” But art is long and life is short, and most people do not have time to provide themselves with many such spiritual costumes. In the main, therefore, they must depend upon the best translations available. With English as a native tongue, a youth of to-day has ready access to all the world’s masterpieces and first-hand access to the greatest body of literature ever produced by the people of one language or of one nationality. Use of translation

As familiarity with a national literature is a necessary preparation for citizenship in that nation, so familiarity with the great literatures of all time and all peoples is fundamental to world citizenship and to adequate participation in the great progressive life of humanity. Literature and world citizenship

CHAPTER VI

OUR POLITICAL INHERITANCE

The bondage of primitive man

ROUSSEAU idealized the life of the savage as one of freedom from the cramping restrictions that prevail in a civilized state. This was because Rousseau was ignorant of the real life of the savage and was painfully conscious of the restraints of an artificial civilization. It is true that primitive peoples are not bound by statutes or written constitutions; but it is also true that these are made in a civilized state for the protection of the individual, not for his enslavement. Furthermore, it is now well known that primitive man has far less freedom than has civilized man. The savage is bound on all sides by hard and fast traditions, sanctioned by superstition and rigidly enforced by tribal authority.

The price of freedom

Man is not born free; he acquires his freedom by a long and difficult process. Political freedom results from the struggles of many centuries. Moral freedom is acquired by the individual through his own efforts, aided by his social inheritance and social opportunities.

Origin of political rights

Political rights have their beginnings in a civic code that protects the individual against aggression from within the tribe. Thus a beginning is made in substituting the justice of the law for mere brute force. During the early stages of their development peoples suffer because of the vagueness and uncertainty of their legal principles, and also

because of the want of laws governing intertribal relations. Under these conditions individuals of a socially inferior class are likely to suffer through the rule of might and tradition rather than of justice.

The political inheritance of modern Europe and America is derived mainly from three sources: Hebrew law, Roman law, and Teutonic customs and ideals of political life. The essence of Hebrew law is contained in the Ten Commandments. These laws not only regulate individual conduct, but in doing so they protect the individual against would-be aggressors. "Thou shalt not kill," with a death penalty attached for its violation, is a safeguard to every law-abiding citizen. "Thou shalt not commit adultery," enforced by appropriate penalties, is meant to guard the fountains of life and to protect the generations to be. "Thou shalt not steal," officially enforced, protects the individual in the property that saves him from penury and want. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor" aims to guarantee each individual against character assassination, one of the worst of all evils. The tenth commandment, prohibiting covetousness, is a transition from the criminal law dealing with overt acts to the higher moral law. This law judges the innermost thoughts and feelings, the sources of all forms of both good and evil. By such contributions the Hebrews have inspired the legislators of many generations and of many nations.

Very early in their history the Romans worked out certain fundamental legal principles which are

The Ten
Commandments

Roman
law

now embodied in the bills of rights of the most advanced states. The Laws of the Twelve Tables prohibit the passage of any law concerning a private individual; require the sanction of the comitia for the enactment of laws depriving a citizen of life, liberty, or citizenship; guard against excessive rates of interest on loans; and provide for the appointment of arbiters in cases of boundary disputes. With these provisions as a start the Romans made great strides in the development of law and government. Subsequent enactments and juristic thought were systematically organized in the Justinian Code, Rome's chief contribution to modern Europe.

he Teu-
mic con-
tribution

The contribution of the barbaric Teutons is less definite though probably not less important. Their natural love of personal freedom and independence is the foundation of Anglo-Saxon law. Out of the primitive assemblies of the Teutons grew representative government, one of the greatest of all political devices.

ritish law
and the
merican
evolution

The history of England admirably exemplifies the further development of political principles. It is characteristic of the English political reformer that he is usually contending for the revival of an ancient right. There has, nevertheless, been a very real progress throughout the history of the British government. The great landmarks in this progress are the Magna Charta (1215), the Petition of Right (1628), and the Bill of Rights (1689). It was with these as a foundation that the American Revolutionary fathers, contending for the political

rights of Englishmen, opposed the encroachment upon these rights by King George III and the controlling party in Parliament. The American Declaration of Independence not only strongly affirms the rights guaranteed to citizens in English constitutional law, but it also affirms principles of liberty and equality derived from the French political philosophy of the eighteenth century. The revolutionary ideal of an American republic was doubtless inspired in part by the example of the small republics of Europe. Holland and Switzerland especially had made their impression on students of government.

In the formative period of the American government the most difficult problem was the coördination of authority between the states on the one hand and the national government on the other. The formation and adoption of the federal constitution was the great triumph of this period in American history. The maintenance of a strong central government, dealing successfully with problems concerning the nation as a whole and leaving to the individual states the management of local affairs, is the task begun by the authors of the American federal constitution.

The
American
federal
constitution

The English Bill of Rights, with its guarantees to the citizen, was so highly prized by early American statesmen that like provisions were early added to our Constitution in the form of amendments. Similar provisions have been adopted generally in the various state constitutions.

Bills of
rights

**Constructive
functions of
government**

In the last half century these safeguards of negative justice have been supplemented by the rapid development of positive governmental functions; e.g., maintenance and control of public schools, public libraries, public highways, public forests, public utilities, and industrial monopolies.

**International
law**

Not to be overlooked as part of our political inheritance are the accepted principles of international law. These principles have been in course of development for several centuries and gave promise of delivering us from military strife by settling all international disputes by civilized methods. Although this tendency has recently suffered a setback, we may hope that this reaction is but temporary and that we shall soon see the further development of international law and international courts of arbitration.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS — FAMILY, CHURCH, STATE

THE question of just when and how the family originated we may leave to sociologists. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that the family is a very ancient institution and that it is likely to outlive the speculations of those who would abolish it. The development and preservation of the family institution outrank in importance any aspect of our social inheritance thus far discussed. It is essential to the development of science, literature, and politics, and these in turn are most valued because of their favorable reaction upon the life of the family. No other institution has played such a vital part in the progress of civilization, and no other can take over its responsibilities without robbing children of their birthright, men and women of the fulfillment of their most noble instincts, and society of its corner stone.

Permanent
of the
family

Aristotle long ago saw that the family, not the individual, is the unit of society. The devotion of husband and wife to each other and to their children is the most perfect example of social solidarity. Here the highest moral principles are realized in ways that seem perfectly natural. However great the importance of knowledge and reason, it is love that is the most powerful motive force in moral progress. The family is the nursery of love and good will toward mankind. It is there that each learns to subordinate self to the common good, to share his gain with

The nurser
of social
virtues

those in need, and to give willing service to others. The ability to coöperate for the good of all is an essential condition of social progress as well as of individual progress. However brilliant a person may be, if he is unable to coöperate with his fellows in the common cause of human betterment, he is doomed to failure. Family life provides not instruction merely, but, what is far more important, everyday practice in this homely virtue.

he church

Although less universal, the institutions of religion, next to the home, touch most intimately the lives of individuals. From infancy to death the great mass of individuals are under the influences of religion, which represents their deepest reflections and feelings and consequent actions. The church is the organized expression of this aspect of human life. Many persons who are not church members substitute therefor membership in a secret society or brotherhood.

he task
religion

Theology may be a matter of belief, but religion must be practical as well. Organized religion has for its task the spiritual betterment of mankind. The betterment may have reference to this life or to the next, or to both. It has come to be the prevailing opinion, however, that what is best for this life, in the highest sense, is also best for the next. The churches have, therefore, centered their efforts upon the development of the finest type of character and the improvement of social conditions in respect to their effect upon the development of character. Whatever else God may mean to the church, He is

the embodiment of the highest ideals man can conceive. In the matter of morals and spiritual development He is the goal toward which the religious man strives. This is illustrated in Christianity in the admonition: "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." The religious life has been summarized under the headings, love of God and love of neighbor, and the latter, meaning our fellow men, has been taken as the index of the former. In striving to realize the highest type of character through love and service to mankind, the individual ordinarily gains hope, faith, and endurance in the task through his belief in a Supreme Being or Power that makes for righteousness — a Being or a Power that is more real and more ultimate than anything else in the universe. Every one must at some time realize that as an individual his life is short, and in consequence his attainments meager at best. If he is to have permanent place and significance in the world, it must be because of some permanent and meaningful relationship which he bears to that world. This idea is the foundation of the church as a social institution and permeates all its educational work with young and old, with members and non-members.

In the preceding chapter we have dealt in some The state measure with the state as an institution. Like the family, it is very ancient in origin and practically universal. The individual does not choose whether or not he will be a member of a state. He must at least be under the control of some tribal or national

organization. As in every other aspect of human society, the state has undergone an evolution, both in purpose and in organization. The two extremes in purpose are illustrated in the statement that in ancient times the individual existed for the state, but that in modern times the state exists for the individual. The latter statement, taken in an exclusive sense, represents the extreme individualism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With a deeper insight into the functions of the state, into the common social inheritance of mankind, and into civilization as a growth, we are coming to see that while the state exists for the individual, the individual also exists in some measure for the good of the state, since its task is to promote the general good of both the living and the unborn.

The form and organization of the state vary with conditions and more especially with the character and intelligence of the people. We are coming to think with Aristotle that, under any given condition, that form of government is best which works best — pure democracy or representative government for those with the knowledge and will to operate such a government successfully, and some form of benevolent external authority for those to whom self-government would mean only anarchy. These latter must acquire political ability by slow process.

The state includes public-school systems and other public educational agencies. In the broadest sense education is the chief business of all social institutions and their auxiliaries, which conserve the race

inheritance in all its aspects and use this heritage as a means of further progress. By means of institutions, individuals develop their powers through participation in social life and through sharing the common goods of civilization.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOLIDARITY OF THE RACE

interdependence of things

PHILOSOPHERS generally agree that some sort of unity pervades the universe. The law of gravitation is a statement of the universal interdependence of the particles of matter. The dependence of the organic upon the inorganic world is manifest to every observer of nature. Animals are likewise dependent upon plants, and man upon both. These relationships are, however, comparatively simple and mainly physical. With the race of civilized men the interrelationships are vastly more complex. First of all there is mutual economic interdependence of contemporary peoples. In the family, this must at some time take the form of dependence of the weak upon the strong; in adult society generally the dependence is mutual and results in exchange of goods.

One cannot well live in civilization without using many of the products of lands and of occupations other than his own. Furthermore, he cannot be economically efficient unless he produces much more than he consumes of some human necessity. Beyond the production of material goods, however, there are many other forms of service equally necessary in a well-developed society. This leads to further specialization, and this again to still greater dependence of the individual upon society. In the realm of the intellectual, the esthetic, the moral, and the religious

life, man's dependence upon others is still more manifest. In these matters what can one acquire and what can one enjoy apart from his fellows?

In the preceding chapters we have tried to show how the race of civilized men, in the course of centuries, has developed the common legacy of civilization. This legacy we have called the race inheritance. For the most part it consists of spiritual rather than of material goods, and may, therefore, be shared by all. Indeed, possession by one helps rather than hinders possession by others. This is true even of mastery of those principles of the sciences and practical arts that have to do with the production of material goods. Each individual may, therefore, partake freely of the common social inheritance without being in the least egoistic; on the contrary, the process may be wholly altruistic. In this process the individual is acquiring additional power that may be used in social service, toward which he should be the more inclined as a consequence of his greater consciousness of the unity of the human race and of dependence upon his fellows. Once impressed with these facts, he cannot assert that "a man is free to do as he pleases so long as he does not interfere with the like rights of others," and still retain any meaning in his statement. No man can be free from obligations to his fellow men. One born in this age is of necessity indebted, whether he so wills or not, to millions of men who have preceded him and who have contributed their energy toward making the civilization of which he is a beneficiary. This debt he cannot pay

The social inheritance and consequent obligations

back to them individually, but to the humanity which lives through the generations to whom the social inheritance belongs he can pay back in proportion to his ability. Thus we borrow from the past and the present while we pay back to the present and the future.

social
progress

It is the fact of race solidarity that makes progress possible. The native intelligence of the individual is probably not very different from what it was 5000 years ago. His biological heredity is approximately the same; his social heredity, however, is vastly different. This grows through the generations as a snowball rolled through the snow. The increased knowledge, skill, and power of the modern man is due almost wholly to his participation in the benefits of his social inheritance. It is, therefore, folly for him to despise the past from which these great benefits came; it is equally foolish for him to spend his time and energy worshipping the past when he should be contributing his strength to conserving and enlarging the common social inheritance for the good of his associates and his successors.

"The good old days" were never half so good as the days that are yet to come. Thousands of years of the history of man's struggle for mastery of himself and to gain control over natural obstacles furnish ample evidence of many triumphs. A triumph by one man or one generation is a permanent gain for humanity. Other men and other generations thus acquire additional power for further conquests. This is well illustrated in our own time in the growth

of man's knowledge of electricity and its application to human welfare. It is less than two centuries since Franklin astonished the world by exhibiting a little elementary knowledge of this aspect of nature. From such small beginnings have come inventions that have made electrical energy an invaluable servant to mankind. Parallel cases might be cited in many branches of natural science. In the social sciences progress has been less manifest because the problems are more complex; yet man is learning to discover the principles that have been hidden in these complexities and is now applying them in the fields of education and of social ethics.

These are the conquests of peace, the victories over ignorance, superstition, and vice, by which civilization is won. By participation in this race progress men acquire a feeling of social solidarity and a sense of obligation to mankind.

CHAPTER IX

THE USE OF THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE EARTH

he right
the use
the earth

“**T**HE earth is the Lord’s and the fullness thereof.” Without entering into theological discussion, perhaps we may agree that the earth with all its resources has been given to man as a means of support and race development. No individual man can, however, claim any portion of the earth except as he may have title granted or sanctioned by his fellows. The power to grant such property rights is vested in governments, which are the acknowledged representatives of the people for whom they act. Governments hold or control all natural resources within their jurisdiction for the good of all the people they represent. They allow individuals to acquire title to portions of these resources under such regulations as seem fair to all, although any particular kind of resource may be withheld from private ownership whenever the public good requires. Forests, water-power sites, and coal lands have at various times been thus withheld from entry. The regulation of the use of all natural resources for the best good of present and future generations is one of the functions of the state.

overnment
ontrol

In theory, justice to all could best be obtained by one government representing all peoples and having world-wide jurisdiction. By this means provision might be made for all to share alike in material opportunities. But we are far from this ideal. Differences

of race, language, and customs, together with the bonds of tradition, have separated mankind into many nations. For the present, at least, the ideal can best be approached by insisting that all governments shall exercise their authority for the good of the governed, and that in this they shall have due consideration for each citizen and shall aim at the greatest good of both contemporary and future generations.

The term "land" is often used to include all **Land** natural resources. It is evident that man cannot live without having the use, either individually or jointly with others, of some portions of land. Land is usually classified on the basis of the use to which it is put or is adapted by nature, or by its situation in respect to the centers of civilization. Thus there are grazing lands, farm lands, mineral lands, forest lands, power sites, roadways, building lots, and building sites. The value that is attached to land is, for the most part, a social product. The savage who lives by fishing and hunting has no land in any of the above senses of the term. He occupies the land merely as hunting ground and usually requires a great deal of it to supply his needs. Since the returns per area are so small, the land has little value. With the domestication of animals, hunting ground may become grazing land; with the domestication of plants, it may become farm land or improved grazing land; when men begin to settle in towns, farms are divided into building lots, and these again into sites for business blocks. In this development

there is a progressive increase in the valuation of land. Evidently this increase is not due to any provision of nature. It is a product of the growth of civilization. By intelligent application of labor to farm land its value may be increased by increasing its productivity. This may be accomplished by the individual. The great differences in land values are, however, for the most part social values. These social values, the so-called unearned increment, may also be subject to control and regulation by the state. Some states have exercised this power by a special tax on the unearned increment. Thus governments have asserted their right to own, regulate, and control not only the natural resources of the earth, but also the values created by the activities of society. Social land values are frequently the product of the concentration of population in one small area. The growth of these values can, therefore, be attributed to one individual only in very small degree.

Forest lands as sources of timber have little value until civilization creates a demand for building material. Mineral land values depend upon man's knowledge of mining, metallurgy, and the uses of minerals. Likewise, water-power sites acquire value only as man learns to use this power in operating machinery. Until recently such machinery was very simple and the power local in its application. Knowledge of how to transform water power into electrical energy and the discovery of methods of transmitting this energy long distances and reconverting

it into mechanical force have increased many fold the value of power sites.

In the arid regions flowing water is a valuable natural resource as necessary as land. Under these circumstances individuals seek property in water rights based upon perpetual use in irrigation. It is recognized that the title to water rests with the government, and individuals must secure their property rights from this source. Since the government grants property rights in farm lands, it is only consistent that similar rights should be granted in the other resource necessary to make desert lands productive. The case is different with water rights for town or city purposes. Water

It seems self-evident that all natural resources and all acquired social values belong of right to all the people of the generation that is and the generations that are to be; that one important function of government is to regulate the distribution and the conditions of use of these resources and social values to the end that every normal man may support himself and those dependent upon him, in addition to rendering his due proportion of public service. This public service includes the rearing and education of the generation that is next in succession. Sharing as
saving
resources

CHAPTER X

THE CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

crimination
in conservation

MANY of the natural resources, such as coal, are consumed with use; others, water-power sites, for instance, are not thus consumed. The soil, while not literally consumed, may lose its fertility through careless use. These are three typical aspects of the problem of conservation. One of the first principles of conservation is that man should not use an exhaustible resource to supply a need that can as well be supplied by an energy that dissipates itself. A vein of coal left in the earth will be available for generations to come and will be much more appreciated than will a hole in the ground. On the contrary, the unused energy of the waterfall is gone forever. Its use by one generation will not detract from its future availability for a like purpose. This is an aspect of conservation that deserves more serious consideration. Men interested primarily in business sometimes glory in the fact that millions of tons of coal are being mined in their region. In such cases they think only of the money that is being expended and of the additional business that these expenditures create, but do not consider the ultimate effect upon human well-being. Where coal is easily accessible it is frequently burned to create electrical energy by the side of a mountain stream that daily wastes upon the rocks vastly more energy than is being obtained from the consumption of coal on its banks.

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES 41

The careless may say that future generations will find ways of living in comfort without coal. This is but a conjecture and is no excuse for wastefulness. The energy of the stream will doubtless be utilized, but there may come a time when want of the coal will cause suffering.

These facts constitute a vital objection to the policy of withholding power sites from entry, unless government can lease or can itself establish power plants on those sites where electrical energy can be advantageously produced. The motives for withholding this valuable resource from private ownership — to conserve it for the benefit of all — we must approve. If, however, this policy results in a prolonged inaction, it is a conservation that does not conserve. The remedy lies either in public operation or in just public regulation. The former plan is sometimes followed by transferring ownership from the general government to a municipality or other subdivision of the state or nation. This is to identify ownership and control with the users of this particular resource. The fatal objection to unregulated private ownership of such common necessities as coal lands and power sites is the danger of monopolies that will oppress the public for the undue enrichment of their owners.

The conservation of soil fertility has been the object of much governmental concern. This concern has thus far resulted chiefly in educative rather than in compulsory measures. Some states have, however, passed laws penalizing land owners for allowing

Conservation of soil and moisture

noxious weeds to grow on their farms. This is partly a matter of soil conservation and partly a matter of protection to their neighbors. Other problems of conservation of soil fertility have to do with rotation of crops, use of fertilizers, and cultivation, including summer fallowing. In this connection the conservation of moisture, in arid regions, is important on irrigated farms as well as on dry farms. In the former instance conservation of moisture in the soil makes possible the extension of irrigated farms and, at the same time, it avoids washing out unnecessarily the fertility of the soil or otherwise neutralizing its powers of production. In these matters a strong appeal is being made to the self-interest of farmers. With intelligent farm owners this method may be fairly effective, since a man has there his life's occupation with a probability that the same farm may later be the basis of support of his descendants. The great difficulty, after ignorance is overcome, lies in the indifference of the farm tenant. Any measure that encourages farmers to own the land they operate is indirectly an aid to conservation, as well as an aid to social stability.

arm
roducts

Laws establishing quarantine or extermination of domestic animals suffering from contagious disease are conservation measures aimed to save serviceable animals. The same is true of some laws relating to horticulture. Conservation of fruit requires extermination of insects that destroy trees or their products.

The policy of maintaining publicly owned forest

reserves is most important. Timber is a necessity of civilization, but when a country is well occupied by civilized man, trees are not produced by nature as fast as they are consumed. Without public care they may even be consumed in mass by forest fires. The preservation and the reproduction of forests is a matter of too far-reaching consequences to be left to private management. Many of the best timber-producing trees require centuries for their growth. Thus it happens that the first settlers in a country may reap the timber growth of a thousand years, while each generation following becomes successively poorer in timber resources. Enlightened governments, therefore, have generally assumed the guardianship of large forest areas. They have also undertaken the reforestation of denuded areas, and the regulation of timber cutting to avoid waste or premature removal of growing trees.

Timber

As a rule timber areas are also grazing land. To avoid waste, governments issue grazing permits to settlers, under restrictions aimed to avoid damage to young trees and underbrush that may be helpful in conserving moisture and to promote the preservation and development of valuable forage plants. The absence of such regulations on desert ranges and by many farmers in the management of their own pastures is the occasion of much loss in these resources.

Grazing
lands

In the business world, men absorbed in private enterprise too often center attention upon immediate results and thereby fail to appreciate the effects of their activities upon the public at large and

Need of
foresight
and a
socialized
conscience

especially upon future generations. Such individuals need to have their attention directed, forcibly, if necessary, to their obligations to their fellow men — obligations that are greatly increased as opportunities for service increase. The control of any natural resource gives into the keeping of individuals or of corporations a certain power over mankind. This power is a stewardship and entails an accounting to society. Such dealing makes for the conservation of mankind, the greatest of all resources. But man is not merely a resource; he is an end in himself. To regard him in any other light would be to render meaningless all our discussions of ethical questions.

CHAPTER XI

THE CONSERVATION OF HUMAN LIFE

THE conservation of natural resources becomes important as a means to the conservation and development of human life. It was the more complete recognition of the fact that all else is subordinate to human welfare that led to the abolition of slavery. Economic gain at the expense of human personality was thereby condemned. The freeing of the slave was, however, only the beginning of the recent humanitarian movement. There are many other forms, old and new, of subordinating the personality of an individual to the ambition, the greed, or the lust of another. Of these forms "white slavery" is one of the most ruinous to individuals and most detrimental to the race. It is a flagrant example of the possible depths of human depravity, and, furthermore, engenders diseases most destructive of human life and happiness — diseases of which the bad effects sometimes persist through many generations. Voluntary organizations are trying to coöperate with public officials in bringing about the elimination of this evil from society. Much of the activity of government is directed toward the same end. The fact that this is a very old form of sin is no reason for giving up the fight against it. It is probably no older than chattel slavery, which has already been abolished. In this reform education must be the chief factor. This education must

Man an
end in
himself

emphasize the highest ideals of family life and the subordination of sexual impulses to this end. Plain, hygienic living, ample physical exercise, and the cultivation of many worthy interests are among the most effective means of forestalling such forms of vice and sin.

**Prohibition
of de-
structive
traffic**

Other ancient enemies of human life are alcoholic liquors and various drugs used as stimulants or as means of deadening the sensibilities. Society has been very halting in its resolve to prohibit traffic in these destructive agencies. Recently, however, the public conscience has become more sensitive to its responsibilities for these evils. It appears now that public toleration of these obstructions to progress will soon go the way of slavery.

**Child
labor**

It is now generally recognized that factories and mines are not suitable places for children, and that prolonged hours at any kind of labor is a hindrance to child development, although a reasonable amount of suitable work is beneficial. Public opinion on this question has found expression in the child-labor laws of civilized nations. These laws protect the child against attempts to use him for gain irrespective of his own welfare. To fail to give him protection is not only to wrong the individual: it is also to wrong mankind, whose progress is thus retarded.

**Women as
wage
earners**

It is, furthermore, to promote the permanent welfare of mankind that many restrictions are placed upon the employment of women. They are generally excluded from labor in mines, from heavy work in factories, or other employment that is likely to jeop-

ardize their health or morals. As clerks in stores their hours are restricted by law, so that no merchant can unduly prolong their hours of labor, or will need to do so as a necessity in competitive business.

The reasons for safeguarding women employees apply also to men, but in less degree. It is now customary to make legal requirement of safe and hygienic conditions in all places of labor. This is on the principle that the conservation of human life and health is always more important than cheap production and should, therefore, be given first consideration. For the same reason hours of labor are restricted and a minimum wage is fixed by law. The minimum wage is correlated with the minimum cost of hygienic living, and is meant to protect the laborer against economic oppression. The requirement of hygienic working conditions condemns the sweatshop; home needs have condemned the insanitary tenement house. Requirements of fireproof buildings or ample provision of free exits and fire escapes and protection of the worker against dangerous machinery, dust, and excessive heat or cold are other examples of legal safeguards to life and health. In case of accidental death in industrial employment, families thus made dependent should be protected by insurance that is chargeable to the cost of production.

Other labor
laws

Closely allied to measures for the protection of employees are intelligence offices, such as employment bureaus, immigration bureaus, and health boards. It is properly the business of these offices

Intelligence
offices

to supply, free of charge, reliable information pertaining to their respective fields of investigation. This is to relieve any one, however poor, from suffering on account of ignorance or from being misled by advertisements. Even commercial clubs have been known to engage in a coöperative plan to send out too glowing advertisements. As a result, people of small means have often been swindled out of their savings. As an antidote for this social ailment, public immigration and other similar bureaus have been established.

the fight
for health

Man's greatest enemy, next to his own uncontrolled selfish appetites and passions, is the disease germ. The attacks of microscopic organisms cannot be repelled by mere brute force. In this battle intelligent control of conditions offers the chief hope of victory. It is the business of public health boards to supply intelligence and to exercise control. This control relates to the enforcement of sanitary measures and the discovery and quarantine of contagious and infectious diseases. These measures, based upon the rapidly developing science of medicine, are among the greatest of all factors in human conservation.

The work of the health board is sometimes extended to the maintenance of pure milk dispensaries for infants and of sanatoria for the care and recovery of victims of infectious disease, and by the provision of health-board nurses for the inspection of schools and for other public service. The near future will doubtless bring a great increase in public activity in this direction. The accomplishments of

government experts in the Panama Canal Zone point toward greater success in the conquest of disease everywhere by removing breeding places of disease germs. Among these breeding places, however, are weak, poorly nourished, nerve-racked human bodies. Public activity should, therefore, be extended to prevention of ill health. Among the means to this end is the suggested provision of summer camps in the public forests. The growth of the world's timber supply is not at all inconsistent with provision to use the same lands as public health and pleasure resorts. The forest reserves are usually in mountainous districts or in lake or swamp regions where agriculture cannot be carried on to best advantage. While swamp lands are not attractive as health resorts, there will always be ample room in mountain and lake districts for summer camping, provided government does not allow a few individuals to monopolize large areas.

The recent establishment of medical research foundations, and other efforts toward coöperative investigations relating to health and race improvement, ought to stimulate government to greater activity in this field. Government has done much to eliminate hog cholera, bovine tuberculosis, and foot and mouth disease, all of which is valuable enough; but how little it has done for the more direct conservation of human life!

CHAPTER XII

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OR REGULATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

highways
and postal
service

ONE of the oldest and most common forms of public utilities is the public highway. It has been customary for this utility to be constructed, owned, and regulated by government, although occasionally one still hears of a privately owned toll road or toll bridge. Another very old and generally publicly owned utility is the postal service. This is also an international service and is therefore controlled by coöperative action of the largest unit of government.

We have become so accustomed to the above forms of public service that it would seem absurd to depend upon private ownership with unregulated private control for the use of highways and the conveyance of mails. The maintenance of roads and bridges over which individuals may drive their own conveyances is, of course, a much simpler matter than owning and operating a railway or a street-car system; but the underlying principle is the same, and some governments have found it quite feasible to own and operate all the popular forms of transportation and communication. It is not our purpose here to advocate this plan. Whether or not it is the best can be definitely determined only by experiment and observation under the scrutiny of economists, business men, and the public. We must contend, however,

that as all right of ways belong originally to government, representing the people, and as means of transportation and communication are necessary means of public service, the state is justified in retaining and utilizing its rights, if by so doing it can best serve the public. If, however, this method is found to be less efficient than construction and operation by private enterprise, the state owes it to its citizens to see that this form of business is administered in the interests of public welfare, and on terms that are fair both to the patrons and the investors. This is the more necessary where the service is a natural monopoly.

In many forms of public service we depend upon competition to insure efficient service and to regulate charges. In railway and street-car transportation, however, such a method is very wasteful. One set of tracks and equipment can do the street-car business of a city much better than it can be done by competing roads; competition is, in fact, not generally feasible. The kind and the terms of service are usually specified in the franchise granted a street-railway company. But in the course of fifty years tremendous changes occur in the transportation needs of a city, and franchise provisions are wholly inadequate to provide for these growing needs. In the absence of any other control the public is at the mercy of the owners of the street-railway company. If not fairly treated the public might retaliate by granting a franchise to a competing company. This would, however, involve great public incon-

Competitive
versus
public regulation

venience and might mean financial ruin to both companies. Another form of retaliation would be to refuse to renew the franchise. To escape such a penalty, companies might depend upon deathbed repentance, since franchises are long and most citizens' memories are short.

The fatal objection to these methods is that they are in direct conflict with ethical principles. Government or business management by retaliation can never be approved. Street railways may, through benevolent disposition, so manage their roads as best to serve the public with only reasonable profits to themselves. Experience has shown, however, that it is not good policy to depend upon a one-sided benevolence. What we have said of street railways is, in the main, true of at least short-distance traffic of railroads. Where these means of transportation are privately owned, governments generally have, therefore, constituted railway or public utilities commissions to whom either owners or patrons may appeal for redress of grievances. Of necessity such a commission must be composed of very well-informed men of experience and sound judgment who are not subject to frequent change in office. The great danger is that the commission may become a victim of the spoils system. This system is bad enough at its best; applied to membership on a public utilities commission, it would probably be at its worst.

blic
lities
missions

Another feature of the better adjustment of relations between the railroads and car lines, on the one

hand, and the public, on the other, is the permanent protection of the roads from ruinous competition and from the uncertainties of a time-limited franchise. If the chances for graft are reduced by public regulation, so also are the chances for uncontrolled financial ruin of the company reduced.

Telegraph and telephone companies are subject to conditions similar to those described. Competing telephone systems in a local community are a public nuisance and an economic waste. Yet uncontrolled monopoly of this business may work a great injustice to the public. Poor telephone service, by wasting a few minutes of the patron's time each day, may cost a city millions annually in addition to the rates paid the company.

Electricity for light, heat, and power; gas, and other forms of public service that require right of way over streets, are natural monopolies and should likewise be subject to public regulation to protect the people from bad service and extortionate charges and to protect the owners from unnecessary competition. Many cities find it feasible to own their own power plants to light their streets and to supply their citizens.

A water system is one of the most necessary utilities in a town or city. Upon ample supply of pure water and its proper distribution and use the health and well-being of the whole community are largely dependent. On this account public ownership of water and water systems has become almost as common as public ownership of highways. No

Public
water
systems

community can afford to allow its rights in this necessary resource to pass into private ownership. Selling a community birthright is as disastrous as selling one's individual birthright.

The chief difficulty in the management of a water system for public service is to regulate the use of water so that all households may be amply provided with it. This is their privilege; abuse of this privilege, however, should be subject to severe penalty.

CHAPTER XIII

PUBLIC REGULATION OF FOOD MARKETS

CVILIZATION has brought with it a high degree of specialization. As it is now out of the question for each individual to make all the various things he consumes, so it is impossible for him personally to inspect the sanitary quality of every article of food he buys. The science of chemistry has made possible extensive adulterations of food without making a difference that can be promptly detected by the ordinary consumer. This fact has led to the passage of pure food laws and the calling into service of scientifically trained inspectors to pass upon and certify to the purity or impurity of manufactured articles of food. This is to prevent fraud and to protect people against the inadvertent use of bad food. The fight for pure food regulations has been long and arduous. The opposition has come from those manufacturers and dealers whom these regulations have prevented from making enormous profits at the expense of a deceived public. The pure food policy is now generally adopted and its benefits universally appreciated. This type of control and supervision is being extended to patent medicines and other drugs offered for sale. A patent medicine may be quite harmless, or it may be the reverse. The purchaser has a right to be told the truth on this point. In the case of both drugs and food the only feasible way of his getting this truth

Pure food
laws

is through coöperative action such as government provides.

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retable
rkets

A large proportion of the food supplies on the market are in the form of fresh fruit, vegetables, and animal products. These are perishable and especially subject to contamination through decay; or they may be diseased or exposed to insanitary conditions before they reach the market. Diseased fruit is frequently excluded from the market or prohibited from exportation, although not condemned for home consumption. The case of the wormy apple is sometimes an object of dispute, the question being as to why government prevents a man from buying wormy apples on the market if he wants them and is unable to pay for perfectly sound fruit. The matter may be considered from either of two points of view; i.e., the effect upon the apple industry and the effect upon the consumer. If the apple grower is permitted to put unsound apples upon the market, careless methods in the handling of fruit are countenanced and the spread of a fruit pest goes unchecked. As to the bad effect upon the consumer of using inferior or contaminated fruit and the right of government to interfere, argument on this point hinges upon the question, "Has the state a right to protect a citizen against his own ignorance and folly?"

Diseased or decayed vegetables are no less harmful than diseased fruits, and for wanting public supervision of these markets the purchaser has reasons similar to the reasons given for the prevention of

the sale of adulterated manufactured goods. The farmer, too, needs to be stimulated to avoid diseases and pests in his crops. While government bars such crops from the market, it also gives the farmer every opportunity to learn how to rid himself of whatever hinders successful production.

Regulation of the sale of animal products is both more necessary and more complicated. Tests of milk for percentage of butter fat and of solids is an aspect of upholding the standards of weights and measures which has general application. The test for bacterial content is, however, for a different purpose. It is regarded as an index of the sanitary or insanitary methods of handling and storing milk, involving sanitation of animals, barns, utensils, and milkers, and of airing and cooling the product. The process of inspection requires the most scientific tests for the detection of tubercular animals in the dairy herd, and provides for the destruction of such animals or their isolation from the herd before the products can be offered for sale. While this may seem to be a hardship on the dairyman, it is in the long run a mutual benefit to him and to his customers. The toleration of contagious disease in a herd leads ultimately to its destruction, whereas destruction of the diseased animals, or their isolation until recovery, together with proper methods of disinfection, is the surest guarantee against such a result. Government usually bears the expense of making the tests — a real saving to the dairyman.

Meat and
animal
products

Protection of the public against disease germs is

further illustrated in the government inspection of meat and the exclusion from the market of the bodies of animals afflicted with such germs. Meat inspection is extended to the sanitary conditions of the slaughterhouse and the methods of handling and preserving meat.

score cards

In case of all perishable food products, the sanitary condition of the market itself is an important factor. This is now frequently judged by the score-card method. This method also helps the shopkeeper to maintain a definite standard of sanitation and to judge his own premises before the public inspector arrives. The score card is also used in judging butter, cheese, and numerous other food products. Thus standards of quality are definitely established and the producer can direct his efforts intelligently toward realizing the best quality, whether or not legally required to do so.

CHAPTER XIV

PUBLIC REGULATION OF THE SELLING PRICE OF NECESSITIES CONTROLLED BY MONOPOLIES

IF government is under obligation to protect the individual against adulteration of foods, inferior milk supply, and diseased meat, may it not also be under obligation to protect him against exorbitant prices? It has been assumed that the selling prices of all the necessities of life will be regulated by competition and by the law of supply and demand. But practice does not always conform to this theory, and although laws have been passed forbidding monopolies, it is found difficult to enforce the law. The monopolistic price may be maintained by secret agreement between a few companies that control the market. It has, furthermore, been thought by many economists that since monopoly, in some lines, really cheapens production, it would be wiser to regulate such monopolies than to try to destroy them.

Regulation
versus
destruction
of monopolies

The chief objection to monopolies in the necessities of life relates to the charges they make for their products; therefore regulation has to do primarily with control of prices. This should extend to control of the purchase price of raw materials, where trusts are the sole purchasers of these materials. The aim of government being so to administer public affairs as to promote the greatest good of all, there is no acceptable reason why it should subordinate

its true function to the upholding of an antiquated theory. If a given commodity can be produced and distributed twenty per cent cheaper through monopolistic control, that fact should be appreciated and prices so regulated as to give the public its due share of benefits. The matter may, however, in a given case involve questions of general welfare other than price. All such questions should be taken into account in determining the policy of government toward monopolies and in deciding what products may and what may not be thus controlled. In transportation and communication, under some circumstances at least, monopolies must be recognized and regulated.

As a matter of good public policy, if not by force of circumstance, the same principle may be applied to some forms of production. By way of illustration let us consider the case of a few necessities that have at some time been threatened with monopolistic control.

coal

Where other forms of heating are wanting, the coal supply is almost as much a public necessity as the water supply. There is not, to be sure, the same necessity for monopoly. It happens, however, that in some regions, because of combination between the mine owners and common carriers, control of this product is monopolized. As a result prices are arbitrarily fixed, even though the freight rates are subject to public regulation. In such a case what can the consumers do other than appeal to their representatives for protection against exorbi-

tant prices? And why should not the state provide protection against enforced exposure to cold as it protects individuals against violence?

Kerosene and gasoline have at times been sub- on
ject to monopolistic control. This control, it is said, has very greatly cheapened production and distribution. Consumers have often asked to what extent they have been benefited by this form of control. Apparently no satisfactory answer can be obtained without some authoritative investigation of the business. Such an investigation cannot be assured except by government action. Kerosene has been, and in some places still is, a necessity of life; gasoline is coming to be so. Is there any reason why a few men should be allowed to make unreasonable profits at the expense of their fellow men, who are in original right joint owners with them of these and other natural resources?

Other necessities have at times been threatened Farm
with monopolistic control either through the develop- products
ment of economical means of production on a large scale demanding the concentration of capital, or through manipulators' scheming to corner the market. Of the latter practice nothing can be said in justification. It may properly be dealt with as a matter of criminal law. Threatened monopolistic control of grain and meat supplies seems to belong in this class. There is nothing in the nature of this kind of production to demand monopoly. Farmers, on whom production depends, have usually neither the opportunity nor the disposition to fix

prices arbitrarily. Where anything of the kind occurs, it is almost certain to be the work of speculators and manipulators who have reduced gambling to a would-be-respectable art.

Salt and
sugar

Products such as salt and sugar may more easily and naturally fall into concentrated ownership, because of the capital invested in manufacturing plants and because of the fear of ruinous competition in the absence of centralized control. In the latter case the consumer gains temporarily at the expense of a few investors. For their own protection the investors have a tendency to combine, and in this case there is at once a temptation to use the power thus secured for their own enrichment, regardless of public welfare. It is to save factory owners from this temptation that the state should be recognized as having authority to make corrections in the price lists made by trusts and combines. In many cases the clear recognition by business interests of this authority will render unnecessary its exercise by the state. The latter must, however, be prepared to perform its duty in upholding justice and promoting the general welfare.

CHAPTER XV

THE BASIS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

IT is evident that in a civilized state there can be no ownership except as provided by legislation and court decisions. This is to say that private property is created by law and can therefore be changed by law. But the law is not an arbitrary creation; otherwise, legislators could not engage in intelligent discussion of the merits or the demerits of pending legislation. The law finds its justification in the principles of social ethics, and these again in the nature of man and society. Of the various theories in justification of private property the following have been given much attention:

Property
rights
founded
on law

The occupation theory sets up first occupation of property as a basis of ownership. Thus, if a man finds a diamond in the desert, it is his. In some measure the law upholds this theory. The man who discovers a mine is able, under specified conditions, to secure patent from the government. But the mine is not his to have and to hold forever without the expenditure of labor in development. An immigrant entering an unoccupied valley may not thereby acquire property right to the whole of it; although it has been recognized that an explorer may take possession of new land in the name of his government. To secure private right the law usually specifies a certain amount of use and labor, and limits title to the number of acres that can be

Occupation

profitably used as a means of supporting a family. This practice is determined only in small part by the occupation theory.

In ranching districts where most of the grazing is on the public domain, the unwritten law of ranchers in a measure regulates the use of land. But if any individual chooses to disregard these customs, they can be defended only by violence. The invasion of a cattle district by sheep owners has sometimes resulted in open hostilities between these opposing interests. This uncivilized method of attempting to regulate the use of a resource is giving way to strict control by government, in which the title to these lands rests. Here again the occupation theory fails to work as a basis of private property rights.

Donation

By homestead, desert entry, and other land laws, government has made regular provision for donating¹ land in limited area to individuals on condition of occupancy for a specified time and the expenditure of a given amount of labor in reclamation. These laws embody elements of three historic theories; i.e., occupation, donation, and labor. Title by donation is probably a relic of royal grants and is now properly exercised, subject to many restrictions, by even the most democratic governments. This basis of private property at once raises the question of the right of the donor to donate. As a result the title traces back to government donation, as in land abstracts.

¹ Technically selling, but the purchase price is nominal.

The labor theory of property makes a strong appeal. It seems natural for a person to call that his which he has created with his own hands. Man is not able, however, to create something out of nothing. He has to utilize some natural resource, and there remains the question, how much of this resource he may use and still call the production his own. In modern industry it is also very difficult to determine the exact value of each man's contribution to the production of a commodity. This is a practical difficulty in any attempt to apply the theory. But notwithstanding the objections, this theory has merit. It encourages industry and economic independence and generally satisfies, in some measure, our sense of justice. These are utilitarian reasons for approving the labor theory, but we may also find reasons in utility for supplementing the labor theory with other considerations. Before proceeding with these, however, it is proper to ask about the meaning and the justification of the utilitarian theory of property right which has injected itself into our discussion. Labor

The utilitarian theory insists that any law or custom must be judged by its effect upon the general welfare and progress of mankind. If a given system of private ownership furthers this end more effectively than any rival economic plan would do, it is justified. Utilitarian theory would, therefore, approve private property only when under such restrictions as to promote best the permanent good of mankind. Utility

From the utilitarian point of view we can see the limitations of the labor theory. With mature, able-bodied people it has the merits mentioned above, but it cannot be applied to childhood and old age, when paternal instinct and filial love are to be depended upon to provide material support. The economic life of the family is exempt from the ideal toward which the utilitarian theory of property points; i.e., an economic system in which each member of society will contribute to the common sum total of his life's service; and each will receive in proportion to his need — not in an arithmetical sense, but in relation to developing and maintaining in the highest sense his powers of service to mankind. That system of property rights is the best which in practice most nearly approaches the ideal.

CHAPTER XVI

PRINCIPLES OF TAXATION

IT seems to follow from the conclusion of the preceding chapter that a system of taxation should be based upon public needs, on the one hand, and ability to pay, on the other. Under a system of private ownership of all productive property the public need demands taxation of some sort. In a general property tax it seems to be implied that one's ability to pay is measured by the assessed valuation of his property. This is not altogether true. The owner of a modest home or a small farm may have barely enough income to support his family, yet his property is sometimes taxed on full valuation and at the same rate as the most productive mines or factories. Nor is the man with a yearly income of \$1000 to be rated as having one fifth the ability to pay the same tax levy as the man with a \$5000 income. The cost of living and of supporting a family must be first estimated and dealt with on a basis entirely different from income above the cost of living. Thus a bachelor might be allowed an exemption of \$1000, which might be increased to \$1200 when he married and further increased \$300 for each minor child.¹ A law such as this clearly recognizes the principle of taxing on the basis of ability to pay.

This, however, is not the only consideration, and

¹ Figures from the Wisconsin Income Tax Law, 1911.

gle tax it is probably not best under existing conditions to place all the burden of taxation on incomes. Such a plan will, for instance, permit a speculator to hold in idleness extensive tracts of land or vacant city lots while those that produce pay all the taxes. The time may come when he will sell at a great profit. He must then pay the income tax. This is likely to encourage him to postpone selling, unduly withholding this land from production and consequent income tax. This illustration suggests quite a different system of taxation — one based upon the use of any natural resource — the single tax, or land tax.

If all natural resources belong of right to all the people, this fact at once suggests that persons to whom title to the use of any resource is given should pay in return a tax or rental for such use. This tax would be levied only on the natural and social values, not on improvements. If such a system had been inaugurated before any one had invested his hard-earned money in land and if the whole industrial system had grown up on this basis, it is conceivable that it might be fair to all and that it might provide ample revenue for public purposes. But a great, complex industrial system has been constructed on a different basis.

In some countries where the land tax is the only direct tax, it is not burdensome to the landowner, large or small, because it is supplemented by heavy indirect taxes, chiefly duties on imports; but where practically everything brought into the country

is taxed one third of its value, it is hard to discover what principles are involved or whether there are any. A system that really derives all public revenue from the single tax will of necessity have to levy a tax that will reduce the market value of land. In the process of readjustment this may cause undue loss to many people, — people, for instance, whose savings for old age have been invested in land. Advocates of the single tax may meet this objection with a plan to care for these worthy people by an old-age pension or other public provision.

The single tax is generally advocated by strong individualists who favor giving to all equal opportunity in the use of the earth and leaving the citizen to enjoy without molestation the products of his own industry. It is opposed by some because, under present economic conditions, it does not harmonize altogether with the principle of taxing in proportion to ability to pay — a principle favored by those who emphasize the social nature of man, not only in his common ownership of natural resources but also in his common participation in the goods of civilization. To overcome the objections that have been raised in turn to both systems, efforts have been made to combine the two by substituting for the general property tax both a land tax and an income tax. This will recognize the obligation to pay society for the use of a natural resource, or the mere holding of it for speculation, and also the obligation to give in proportion to one's ability.

Combina-
tion of in-
come and
single tax

heritance
r

The inheritance tax may be regarded as but a modification of the income tax. It raises the question also of the moral right of a child to inherit a parent's fortune. The labor theory of private property right seems not to justify the right of inheritance. When modified by the utilitarian theory, however, the question is again open for discussion. In case the head of a household leaves a widow or minor children, their needs should first be provided for; but this does not include funds for dissipation or a fortune with which to begin life. Inheritance-tax laws exempt small estates and sometimes place a graduated tax on all valuation above the amount exempted. The laws of some states levy a flat rate on all values above a fixed amount which is determined arbitrarily, taking no account of a dependent widow and minor children. This is clearly a case of crude ethics. If there are ten minor children to be educated, \$10,000 is a very small amount to be exempted; it may be altogether too much in the case of a bachelor without dependents. There should, of course, be a uniform scale of adjustment to the needs of those dependent upon the estate.

ense tax

Another common form of taxation is that of the license. If the charge for a license is to pay the cost of public supervision of the type of business licensed, it may be regarded as an ordinary business transaction in which one pays for benefits received. If the charge is for the opportunity of making profits, and these profits are again subject to the income tax,

a double tax is created of which the income tax is the more equitable. The payment of a license tax for the opportunity of doing a business destructive of human welfare is possible only where crime is legalized.

CHAPTER XVII

REASONS FOR LIMITING TAXATION

MUNICIPAL and county authorities are limited in their powers of taxation by the general legislative assembly or by constitutional provision. The constitution limits the taxing power of the legislature. Why these rigid limitations?

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ier than
blic

Referring to the principles of taxation discussed in Chapter XVI, we must correlate the public needs with the ability of the citizens to pay. Ability to pay taxes can be determined only in relation to other than public needs. There are institutions besides the state that must be supported. Due regard must be had for each such institution and for private needs. It could not be for the good of the state to increase its expenditures to the point of bankrupting industries or of compelling families to live without comfort in order that they might occasionally enjoy magnificent public buildings. There is demand for symmetry and proportion in economic life no less than in art.

• home

The financing of the home is no less important than the support of the state. While it is necessary that the state shall provide means of education and training to the extent that this can be done most efficiently through the coöperation of families, there still remains a most vital part of education for which the home must be responsible. It is in the home that the foundation of character is laid. It should, there-

fore, be made reasonably attractive, and parents should have sufficient leisure to associate with their children, and means to provide recreation and entertainment about the family hearth. The dollar paid in taxes cannot serve this purpose also.

The church, too, if it is faithful to its ideal, should have money. It must construct artistic, commodious buildings with modern equipment and must pay many other expenses incidental to the conduct of its organization. It can coöperate most effectively with the home in the religious and moral training of children as well as be a spiritual guide and support to all its members. For financial support it is dependent upon voluntary contributions. The same coin cannot go both to the church and to the state.

In addition to the church there are private charities, clubs, and societies voluntarily organized for the promotion of worthy ends. It is necessarily a part of every one's moral development that he render some service and make some contributions other than those required by law. It is highly desirable that some money shall be spent in this way, although it should not be inferred that citizens will pay taxes only because they are forced to. It should be a part of every citizen's training to consider the purposes for which public money is used and to pay taxes with the utmost good will. If this cannot be done there is something wrong either with the taxpayer or with the government, and reform methods should be applied.

The church

Voluntary
contributions to
society

proper use
of public
money

Ability of citizens to pay into the public treasury will depend in great measure upon the tax system in vogue. It has been pointed out that the general property tax usually throws a heavy burden upon homes and small farms. Owners of these classes of property can be quickly crushed with high taxes, greatly to the public injury. A system of taxation based upon sound principles does not, however, have this effect, even though the taxes are relatively high. On the contrary, such taxes provide many advantages otherwise unavailable to children of poor parents. Among these are books and magazines from the public library, playgrounds and swimming pools, public lectures, concerts, and entertainments, and high-class music and art in the public schools. Is it not desirable that these advantages shall be open to all? And is it not possible to provide them, under a just system of taxation, without detracting from the efficiency of other social institutions and the satisfaction of legitimate individual needs?

reasons
for limiting
the taxing
power

This is not to say that the limitation of the taxing power should be abolished. If for no other reason such a limitation may guard public officials against the temptation, all too common, to be excessively liberal in spending money not their own. The principles that apply to private expenditures also apply to public business. Most people find that their supposed wants and disposition to spend are far beyond the purchasing power of their purses. It should not be forgotten that it is the same in public affairs. Public officials can see numerous ways to

spend every dollar available; and since this is part of their business, they are likely to enforce the maximum tax levy.

In public business the best results are obtained when those that spend have to figure closely on the cost and select from among desirable ends those that will yield the greatest and most lasting satisfactions.

CHAPTER XVIII

FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

The state's
right of
self-preser-
vation;

ON what grounds are taxes levied for public education? The older arguments in support of this practice were generally based upon the right of self-preservation, applied to the state, and especially to a democratic state. Thus public education became education for citizenship, in a somewhat restricted sense, and was generally limited to the elementary school, where the child received the amount and kind of education thought necessary for a citizen. Compulsory education in the elementary school followed as a corollary of this argument.

of self-
develop-
ment;

When, however, provision began to be made for the expenditure of large sums of public money for higher education, the old argument in justification of it was not so clear. It had to be stretched almost to the breaking point by assuming that the state must have highly trained leaders, and that these would not be trained except by provision for public support of colleges and universities. This argument was weak so long as secondary education was left to endowed and tuition schools. Although rather reluctant about it, the voters were finally convinced that secondary schools too should be maintained by the public. Thus arose a complete system of public education. Expenditures on this system are rapidly on the increase because of the effort to bring secondary education within the reach of all and to

popularize the work of public colleges and universities, thus attracting to them an ever increasing percentage of the youth. This is a remarkable development of the right of a state to self-preservation. We may well ask, "Is this the only justification?"

The need of developing and perpetuating a common race inheritance, and the fact of social solidarity with all that this implies, furnish a much more comprehensive justification for public education. This may be regarded as an extension of the idea of self-preservation by making it include social development. Public education is amply justified if it can be shown that it is a necessary means of accomplishing the ends of civilization.

The function of schools as a means of preserving and developing the race inheritance was set forth in Chapter I. It is evident that this purpose cannot be accomplished without maintaining a system that includes all grades of education, from the most elementary instruction to the most advanced research. To leave this undertaking to private enterprise would be to deprive many of the opportunity to develop their individual talents. This would be a great loss, not to individuals alone but to the race, since progress depends upon the development and the expression of all the talents of each person.

The state has, however, covered not only the field of general instruction; it has also entered the field of vocational education and training.

Law and medical schools have been established in state universities, doubtless, more as a consequence of

of social
develop-
ment

Vocational
education

Professional
lines

tradition than of carefully reasoned public policy, since state universities have been patterned after the old privately endowed institutions. It is still customary, however, for many law and medical students to attend private tuition schools. The usual fees charged in these professions seem to be based upon the assumption of a large expenditure in preparation for the work. Objection is sometimes made to using the taxes of the people to pay for medical and legal education on the ground that this money is used merely to further private ends. Whether or not this is so depends chiefly upon the attitudes of these professional students toward their work and its relation to public welfare. If the chief purpose of the student is to increase his earning capacity that he may gain social prestige or political preferment, the objectors are right. But this is an attitude that ought to be discouraged, no matter who pays for the professional training.

The safety and progress of a community are closely connected with the efficiency and the character of its professional men. Should not the state, therefore, take measures to insure these qualities? The native ability and disposition prerequisite to the making of an excellent physician are just as likely to be found in the poor widow's son as in any one else. Large tuition fees may, to such a youth, be an insurmountable barrier; public provision for technical training may open the way. In providing this opportunity, however, the state should be mindful of the great public service expected

FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION 79

of its wards. Bestowal of benefits by the public increases the obligations of the beneficiary to the public. This obligation cannot be escaped on the ground that much of the skill attained is due to native talent; for, as we have shown, each member of a civilized community is a debtor to the race, and justice requires that each shall give in return to the extent of his ability. The practice of medicine offers great possibilities for service, and the ethics of the profession requires that this service shall be given to rich and poor alike.

The tendency of college youth to enter the old-line, non-productive professions to the neglect of industrial training led to the establishment of popular schools for instruction in agriculture, household arts, and mechanic arts. In many of the non-productive forms of service human needs are distinctly limited, and an excess of specialists in any line may be a hindrance rather than a help to the community. The case is somewhat different with material production. Because of our highly developed means of transportation, excess of products in one locality may readily be transferred to a place where they are needed. It is very clearly in the interests of public welfare that schools shall be maintained to develop skill and disposition on the part of youth to engage in production of material goods.

The field of public education is not limited to schools. Other agencies are libraries, gymnasiums, parks and playgrounds, municipal lecture and concert halls, theaters, and similar institutions. Education is, indeed, the chief business of the state.

Industrial
lines

Other
educational
agencies

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates.

2.

PART II

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP



CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF JUSTICE

THERE is no race, however primitive, that has not some notion of justice, although this notion may be very crude and very limited in the extent of its application. It is, however, out of this universal sense of obligation that modern social ethics has developed. Among uncivilized tribes the sense of justice is identified with retribution and even with revenge. In the history of morals the ancient Hebrew doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is typical of the retributive notion of justice. This is not the retribution that is inevitable in the nature of things, but one that man himself undertakes to inflict upon an offender.

Primitive
notion of
justice

The Greek notion of justice developed into the idea of social harmony as expressed in Plato's "Republic," a harmony resulting from each member's finding and filling his appropriate place and function. The prevailing notion of justice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is expressed in Herbert Spencer's formula, "Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man." This expression of individualism is, in one way at least, the opposite of the ideal of Plato.

Plato
versus
Herbert
Spencer

In all this variation and seeming contradiction is it possible to find a common notion? It is clearly the case with primitive peoples that their common idea

is that of exchange of equivalents. The same idea seems to be applied negatively in Mr. Spencer's statement: non-interference in exchange for non-interference. In Plato's "Republic" the ideal is positive and emphatically social, with emphasis upon the attainment of harmony and efficiency. In this, however, is it not implied that the individual, in exchange for his service to the state in the place where he can best serve, will receive the greatest benefits in the return service of the state to him and to his descendants?

justice the
inclusive
true

The principle of justice in this larger sense includes benevolence and, in fact, all the virtues. It demands consecration of each to the service of all. In this there is no real loss or sacrifice to the individual, since it is by this means only that personality is most highly developed. Idleness, intemperance, and unchastity are not merely individual sins, they are a direct interference with the fulfillment of man's obligations to his fellows. No vice can be named that is not in opposition to justice; and no virtue, but that contributes to the better realization of this most comprehensive principle of ethics. Application of this principle illustrates most fully the value of coöperative effort. A useful invention or an inspiring poem — the product of individual genius and effort — goes out from the laboratory or the private study to benefit millions of men and women. The number cannot be calculated, since it is impossible to see the end of generations that will participate in these benefits. The contribution of one individual

may also stimulate others to make further discoveries or to write better philosophies of life, and these again are transmitted to innumerable generations. Thus the individual gives to a multitude and receives from a multitude a most comprehensive and profitable interchange of social benefits. This is social justice.

CHAPTER II

THE RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Opportunities for coöperative work

THE coöperative work of mankind is not accomplished without organization. Organizations for this purpose are social institutions. In a previous chapter we have discussed the family, the school, the church, and the state as a part of the race inheritance. In this and succeeding chapters we shall discuss these institutions as opportunities for individual development, and also the duty of the individual toward these institutions. The sense of obligation here rests upon considerations of the social good and of individual good, either one of which would make the obligation binding. Loyalty to humanity can be best expressed through the highest type of loyalty to social institutions; this properly includes loyalty to truth and right. Disloyalty to a social institution is usually the result of egoism, if not of egotism or perverse desires. In order to attain happiness the individual must learn to coöperate with his fellows. Social institutions offer not only the means of efficient coöperative work; they offer also the opportunity to learn the process.

cial and
ti-social
stitutions

A social institution is an organization for human service and must be in harmony with the general welfare. Organizations that do not conform to this standard are anti-social and tend to destroy

tion. Robber gangs, gangs of lawless anarchists, and saloon leagues are of this type. It is a duty of the citizen to see that all such influences are excluded from the great historic institutions that have proved their worth to mankind.

In addition to the institutions of the helpful type already discussed there are numerous others which, when properly managed, may be regarded as social. In the business world are irrigation companies, coöperative stores, coöperative mills, and coöperative mines. This form of organization has become established as a business necessity and has been legalized and protected by corporation laws.

**Types of
social in-
stitutions**

In the political world are parties organized for the purpose of advocating and, if possible, putting into effect various principles and policies. While these parties are not generally recognized in the written constitution of the state, they have through custom attained recognition in the conduct of public affairs. In the field of religion are various churches and auxiliary organizations, each with its own particular objects to be attained. Other organizations, such as "betterment leagues," independent of both politics and religion, enable those who believe in certain reforms to find a way of securing them.

Organizations of another type are formed among people engaged in the same occupation. The purpose here is to disseminate useful knowledge for the improvement of that particular kind of service. Of this class are conventions of farmers, stock raisers, bankers, associations of manufacturers,

teachers, and ministers. Of a slightly different nature are labor unions and federations of labor unions. A danger in all such organizations is that they may become anti-social by becoming absorbed in selfish ends. When this occurs it is generally because one class of society is pitted against another, each to secure to itself greater benefits, regardless of the general welfare. Trouble of this sort has been most frequent between the great corporations on the one hand and labor unions on the other. The problem is to find a plan that will resolve these opposing interests into coöperative effort directed toward the good of all. The association, for mutual help and instruction, of people engaged in the same occupation is necessary to bring that occupation to the highest point of efficient social service. It may also be the means of developing a spirit of team work and good will that can be applied to other human relationships.

student
organizations

In educational institutions are minor groupings that call for the exercise of judgment on the part of students in discriminating between social and anti-social ends. Some of these organizations have a clearly stated, specific purpose. Of this class are debating clubs, literary societies, musical organizations, and athletic teams. These are normally on the social side. Occasionally, however, there is formed a secret organization of some class or faction with little or no thought of whether the ends proposed are social or anti-social. It happens not infrequently that they are anti-social.

In colleges a third type of student organization is the fraternity and the sorority. These have the dignity of being historic institutions. They represent, however, a great variety of aims and practices. A fraternity, like any other organization, must be judged by its aims and by its results. These should be carefully investigated in each case. What, in theory, does the fraternity aim to do for its members? for the college? for society at large? How does it propose to accomplish its aims? What, in practice, has it done and is it doing by way of social or anti-social work? What effect does it have upon the ideals and the habits of its members? Does it help or hinder the attainment of the legitimate ends of college education?

An organization with a bad aim can be easily recognized and so avoided; but one with no aim at all may be more dangerous because more alluring and more treacherous. An organization without a justifiable aim has no right to exist.

Dangers in
aimless
organiza-
tions

CHAPTER III

PARENT AND CHILD

Marriage

HUMANITY is realized in the joining of man and woman in a permanent union, a union that is spiritual as well as material. Man and woman are the complements of each other in both physical and mental qualities. They can never be alike without violence to their natures. Who is attracted by a mannish woman or a womanish man? It is not the new woman's ideal that she become like a man, as this would cost her her womanliness, but rather that she be allowed to develop her personality. It is an experience necessary to the completion of every woman's life that she shall assume the motherly care of children, whether or not they are her own. The life of any man is likewise incomplete if he does not act the part of father to some one in need of such care and guidance. One of the chief purposes of the family is that men and women may exercise these functions and that the race may be perpetuated. All social values have reference to human development. If the race is not perpetuated, these values will cease to be.

Children

Children are the strongest and most enduring bond that holds the family together. This is largely because parents have in them a common, unselfish interest. Many cases of divorce can be traced to some form of selfishness in one or both of the parties to the marriage contract. This is manifest in an

unwillingness to yield personal pleasures or individual ambitions to the common purpose of the family. The advent of children is the strongest influence counteracting this tendency. This new interest and responsibility helps to overcome self-centered thought and feeling, an attitude which pampered persons sometimes acquire.

The moral influence between parent and child is mutual. It is so even with the problem of discipline, although it is customary to speak only of the parent's disciplining the child. This is probably because the parent must assume this responsibility. The child disciplines the parent, not because of duty or obligation, but because the nature of the relationship brings it about. The parent cannot exercise his functions in moral teaching and training without subjecting himself to the same rigid self-control which he seeks to develop in the child. Children quickly detect insincerity or inconsistency, either one of which is fatal to parental influence. The parent may temporarily compel obedience, but this is not moral education unless it leads to cheerful, willing conformity to the type of life the parent is seeking to develop. Thus, if the parent would be successful, he is compelled to be in character what he wishes his children to become; and every normal-minded parent devoutly desires that his children shall realize the highest type of character.

The child
disciplines
the parent

From the other point of view the child is wanting in experience and must be subject to adult guidance. He must first form the habit of obedience to lawful

Guidance
of the
child

authority, that of the home first and later that of the school and state. This is a necessary foundation, if he would ever acquire the power of obedience to the highest moral law.

He must, in childhood, learn to be honest, to be truthful, and to respect property. This will result in his being fair and frank in all his dealings, and sincere in thought as well as in word. He must learn to be considerate of the physical needs and the feelings of his associates. This fellow feeling also includes kindness to animals. He must learn to work and thereby acquire the habit of serving according to his ability. The child-labor laws are meant to protect children from oppression — moral as well as physical — but not to relieve them of all work and responsibility. Many children of the well-to-do city residents are now suffering as much from want of work and responsibility as children of the poor are suffering from too much.

In connection with their work and habits of life children need training in system. Careless, slovenly, unsystematic ways of doing things, if allowed to go uncorrected at this time, may result in habits that will seriously interfere with success.

A clean mind in a clean body is an ideal that must be fixed in thought and habit. To this end the home must maintain a clean house and clean surroundings. But beyond this is the greater problem of clean, moral living — freedom from sensuality by cultivating loftiness of thought which will not permit of any sort of dissipation.

This does not mean that children may not have their pleasures. Proper association with companions in play and games is one of the most effective ways of training in the fundamental virtues.

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

"The
good old
days"

THE recent changes in the economic life of the family have often been a matter of comment. Writers on education have pointed out the advantages of the older type of family life, when almost everything used in the home was produced there. This applied not only to food, but also to clothing. Grain was sown, harvested, ground, and baked; animals were raised, butchered, and the meat cured; sheep were grown and their wool washed, carded, and woven into cloth and blankets. These are sometimes called "the good old days" when there was a variety of work for every one and plenty of it, when habits of industry and coöperation were easily acquired, and when that high degree of specialization which makes a man helpless outside his own narrow line was unknown. This type of life had, however, its disadvantages in the limitations of opportunity for leisure, recreation, and development of special talent. These deficiencies have been largely overcome by the modern type of home life. Rather than bemoan the degeneracy of the times, may it not be wiser to try to retain in some form the merits of both the old and the new?

Times
have
changed

Economists maintain that the family has, in large measure, ceased to be an economic unit, and this is doubtless largely true with many families resident in cities. The husband, absorbed in his

business or profession, lives in a mental world quite foreign to the world of home duties or social affairs that monopolize the mind of his wife. Thus the modern economic situation develops diverse interests that tend to destroy family unity. This loss of companionship is frequently the cause of divorce — one of the greatest evils in modern society. Emphasis upon the common interest in the rearing and education of children, together with the mutual interest in expending together what was formerly earned together, may tend to reestablish family unity.

Life in a hotel or an apartment offers little opportunity for service until the boy or girl is old enough for regular employment in some branch of city industry. The worker then becomes an economically independent individual. Under this system parents have the opportunity of providing for their minor children, but the children miss the early training in coöperative service. This loss is not to the family alone, but also to society, which rests upon the family as a foundation.

**Hotel and
apartment
life**

To maintain the family as an economic unit does not mean that each member may not earn and control his own pocket money. It does mean that each shall form the habit of rendering service in the family without pay and that each shall share his pleasures with the others. Even the husband and father cannot properly regard the family property and the family purse as his own, although, except in the case of real estate, he may sell and spend

**The family
property**

at his pleasure. If the property is in the name of the wife and mother, she may legally have even greater individual control; she has, however, no moral right to take advantage of such a legal privilege. The law may compel a man to support his family, if he is able; but the moral obligation is far beyond this: he is to share with them the common family property for the best good of all. To this end parents work and plan and save together, first to rear and educate their children, and after that to provide material support for their own declining years.

Educative
value of
work

In addition to the service about the home, youths may under favorable circumstances earn some money that will help to pay for their own education and, if necessity requires, contribute toward their own living expenses. If misfortune brings parental disability, this necessity may become very real, and sometimes calls for what seems to be great sacrifice on the part of young people. Such a sacrifice is, however, very slight when compared with the sacrifice of duty by one who would shirk this responsibility. An experienced man and observer of men remarked: "I will take my chances on the widow's son."¹ Why? Because the circumstances, as a rule, compel training in industry and responsibility, service, and self-sacrifice that contribute more to manhood than anything in the experience of the boy whose every want is supplied and who never learns in youth the meaning of these terms. They can be learned only through experience.

¹ Nephi L. Morris.

Training children to earn is probably no more ~~Thrift~~ important than training them to plan and to spend. These are fundamental aspects of thrift, and they are much more easily taught when children earn what they spend. The home, of all institutions, is best able to give this essential training. Thoughtless waste is a great modern vice; it is normally the forerunner of want and economic disaster. The home, with the support of the school, must assume responsibility for correction of this evil.

All the varieties of home training here suggested are necessary preparations for membership in other institutions and for the life of society at large. They are also necessary to children and youths as part of their preparation for exercising parental control as heads of new families.

Importance
of home
training

CHAPTER V

VOCATIONS

Why have
vocations?

A VOCATION is, first of all, a means of service. With most people it is also a means of getting a living. It is very necessary that every youth should choose a vocation wisely and should make special preparation to follow it with success. The possession of wealth is no excuse for neglecting this duty. It is necessary to the well-being of both the individual and of society that every one shall engage in some socially beneficial form of service. This can usually be done to best advantage by making some particular form of service a life's work. A young man of wealth, but without vocation, is likely to drift into pastimes that should be only occasional means of recreation. Recreation as a business usually leads to dissipation and ruin.

A young person without wealth who fails to qualify for a suitable vocation is usually battered about from one job to another, — often without employment, more often performing his task indifferently, and scarcely ever happy in his work. His conditions are all against industrial efficiency, and where this is wanting there is little satisfaction to the worker, to the employer, or to society thus poorly served.

From the social side a highly developed society cannot exist without numerous vocations. It is of the highest importance, too, that its members shall be properly distributed in the various callings.

The basic vocations have to do with the production of material goods upon which the existence of the people depends. Among these vocations are the various branches of agriculture, manufacturing, and mining. Closely allied to these are other forms of service that have to do directly with man's material well-being. The various branches of commerce are generally necessary to the conduct of the productive industries and to placing their products at the disposal of the consumers. This calls for men in all the departments of railway service and other forms of transportation; also for bankers, merchants, clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers, and deliverymen. Let all the workers in any one of these vocations suddenly quit their work, and society will soon be convinced of the necessity of that vocation.

Social
significance
of voca-
tions

The vocation of the physician and the surgeon, the nurse, and the dentist have also to do with material well-being; within the limits of community needs, they offer high opportunities for service.

It is perhaps not so manifest that the lawyer also has to do with material welfare; but since the promotion of justice is the ideal of his profession, it must be evident that society's gain or loss will vary with his success or failure.

Other vocations are concerned with spiritual — intellectual, esthetic, moral, and religious — welfare. Of these the most conspicuous are the vocations of the teacher and of the minister of religion. There are also social-settlement workers, juvenile-court officers, and social-purity reformers who may be in

this same class. There is a dual aspect to the spirituality of these vocations; they aim at spiritual results, and the compensation is chiefly spiritual. No one can hope to accumulate wealth by this means. One may, however, expect to secure a modest living and a high degree of satisfaction. Journalism and other forms of authorship are akin to this class of vocations.

It is the primary aim of some vocations to minister to esthetic enjoyment. This is the function of music and art. To one of suitable talent and temperament these callings are very attractive. The material reward is usually regarded as a minor factor.

a basis
choice

In choosing a vocation a youth should ask, "What can I do best that society needs most?" To assist in answering this question truly is the aim of vocational guidance. It calls for close study of all the conditions of any vocation under consideration and the aptitude of the individual for it. This is greatly aided by some experience as a helper in the work. To this end high-school and college students who have chosen a vocation should seek employment that will give them knowledge of and experience in the business contemplated. Engineering students, for instance, when they have to remain out of college for a year to earn money, should seek work in engineering projects rather than enter temporarily upon teaching with no special preparation for it. This is best for them, for society, and especially for the schools.

Owing to want of vocational guidance, too many

youths drift into non-productive vocations. This results in part from the fact that an increasingly large percentage of young people attend high schools, and the further fact that the traditional function of secondary schools is to prepare for college, and of the college, to prepare for the professions. It is hard to break away from tradition; and so it often happens that the atmosphere as well as the studies of the schools lead to the professions rather than to productive industry. It is manifest that too many people in non-productive occupations will lead to both individual and social disaster. A certain number of lawyers is a community need, but an excess is likely to be a community menace. It is properly part of the business of a lawyer to reduce litigation to a minimum; he should, therefore, never be tempted to stir up litigation for the sake of fees. Likewise it is the business of a physician, by public as well as private health work, to make his services needed as little as possible.

There is at present no great danger of over-production of the necessities of life. The high cost of living with its attendant evils seems to indicate the opposite condition. All trying to live on what too few produce is one reason for this. There is, for illustration, a legitimate place for real-estate dealers and life-insurance agents; but since their commissions must come ultimately out of material production, an excess of such agents is socially very detrimental. A further danger here is that educated young men are likely to drift into these and like

**Need of
material
production**

callings when they do not know what else to do. Many enter real estate, insurance, brokerage, or project or mining promotion merely for the purpose of finding an easy way to make money. If a man is to enter one of these vocations, he should be especially trained for it and should pursue it in a way that will give permanent satisfaction to the people he serves as well as to himself.

The various vocations connected with material production have, in fact, more advantages than most youths realize. The demand for the material goods of life is more constant than is that for most non-productive forms of service. The physical activities required in productive industry are conducive to health and therefore to happiness, especially so if carried on in the open air or in sanitary buildings.

ations
women

The relation of women to the vocations is somewhat more puzzling than is that of men. The large majority must follow wifehood and motherhood, the vocation that has made the home and the perpetuation of the race possible; some, however, do not, and who can say in advance whether or not any particular girl will be in the one class or in the other? The safe practice would seem to be for every woman to qualify for two vocations, and thus be prepared for any eventuality. With the majority, home making and management, the greatest of all vocations, will be first choice. A second choice will frequently be in some closely allied vocation; e.g., teaching, nursing, library work, or some branch of home economics. Under suitable conditions

many women find satisfactory vocations in various kinds of office work.

A married woman should share in the management of the family income and should have control of a purse or bank account to secure her personal needs and to finance the home. In case of widowhood she should be able to support herself by means of a suitable vocation. If necessity requires that this should be in the care of her own minor children, the state should stand ready to pay her a salary.

In case of failure to marry, a woman should not only be economically independent, she should also have a life's work to which she can put her mind and her heart. It is because many women are finding such a life's work that the term "old maid" is passing out of use. This term acquired its unpleasant associations when women were especially prepared for no vocation and were dependent upon the chances of matrimony for entrance into the only one open to them. Disappointment in this was presumed to lead to a forlorn life of idle waiting, with cats for companions.

A woman had better follow any vocation that will give her a chance for social service and happiness, rather than be "unequally yoked" with an unworthy man.

CHAPTER VI

BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

Concentration of investment with distribution of wealth

MODERN industry and commerce have so developed that they cannot be carried on successfully without the coöperation of many or the great wealth of a few. The latter alternative, it will be conceded, is not desirable. A democracy must aim at a wide diffusion of wealth. The corporation offers opportunity for this diffusion while still providing for concentration of investment and management.

The necessity for larger units of capital developed the partnership plan, a method now generally inadequate to business needs. It requires the concentration of millions of dollars in one investment to build, equip, and operate a railway system, a steamship line, or a country-wide telegraph or telephone system. The same is true in some measure in mining, smelting, and manufacturing. When managed in the interests of the stockholders, small as well as large, corporations offer exceptional opportunities for the investment of savings.

The use of savings

During early maturity and middle life the ordinary worker is presumed to earn more than is required for his current expenses. The family budget should set aside a portion of the earnings, which may serve a double purpose: first, to help build up the legitimate industries of the country, and secondly, to provide an old-age income for those who have thus saved.

This portion of the family income usually goes first into a savings bank or similar institution. But savings banks cannot pay interest without investing or lending out their money, and the borrower likewise must invest his money profitably or fail in his obligations. Thus all savings must be invested in productive business or be profitless.

This is in the main true also of life-insurance companies into whose hands is committed the management of vast sums of the people's money. Mutual insurance companies offer opportunities for coöperation on a large scale. One of the great difficulties of these organizations, however, is that they become so large that the individual member of the organization finds no ready means of using his vote to insure good management. Management may, therefore, fall into the hands of manipulators more intent on personal gain than on the interests of policyholders. Such a public necessity as life insurance should be managed either by government or by mutual companies under government supervision. They should be so regulated that all profits will go to the beneficiaries of the policies. Whatever may be said in justification of the accumulation of individual fortunes in general, there can be no ground for approving the making of such fortunes directly out of the life-insurance funds of the people.

Concentration of the management of a corporation need not mean concentration of ultimate control. This control should be exercised by the stockholders. It is desirable that these should be so situated that

Life-
insurance
funds

Corpora-
tion control

Stock-
holders

a majority can meet at least once a year to be fully informed of the conduct of the business and to discuss such reports and plans as may have been sent to them. Such annual meetings are commonly held for the election of directors. In this the individual stockholder has a duty akin to that of the citizen in political elections. He should be informed of the financial condition of the corporation and of its methods of doing a business that concerns both the stockholders and the public. Managers may, for instance, rob both; or they may rob the public and divide up with the stockholders. In the latter case some stockholders might be tempted to give at least silent approval. The stockholders are not, as a rule, in a position to direct each business transaction; this generally requires concentrated authority. Stockholders can, however, be informed of business policies and judge of the moral principles involved. These judgments can be made known at the stockholders' meetings and expressed in voting for directors.

Directors
and
managers

Directors and managers of corporations have not only a great responsibility, they have also exceptional opportunity for service. Their business so much resembles that of public officials that the commission form of municipal government has been patterned after the management of private corporations.

The board of directors of a company usually passes upon large questions of policy, investments, bonding or borrowing, but leaves to a manager or a small executive committee all details of management. Here again is manifest the principle of concentrated

management with a larger body exercising general control. This larger body is, however, presumed to have intimate knowledge of all the affairs of the company and to see that everything is done in a fair and businesslike manner — the buying and the selling, the auditing of the books, and the treatment of employees. A board of directors may not with propriety neglect any of these things which are likely to concern the public as well as the stockholders. There are usually many interested creditors, persons, or banks that have made loans to the company, and others that have accepted stock certificates as security for loans. In case of bankruptcy all of these individuals and corporations may suffer. Others with no financial interest in the corporation may be injured because of its unfair dealings. It is the business of the directors to guard all these matters closely, so that injustice to any one, within or without the corporation, may be reduced to a minimum. This is more important than maximum profits.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

Separation
of church
and state

PRIMITIVE people do not differentiate church and state. Religion is at first tribal or national and is, therefore, identified with other tribal or national affairs. In the earliest conquests of one people by another the subject people adopted the religion of their new rulers. Later, however, conquerors came to recognize the wisdom of allowing a people to retain the religious aspect of their own national life. This practice led to separation of church and state. One instance of this is the case of the Hebrews. The Mosaic law, which governed the Hebrews for centuries, was both civil and religious. Their political subjection to more powerful nations at first led to conflict concerning the problems of religion. Under the Roman conquest this conflict was partly resolved by the recognition, within prescribed limits, of the authority of the Jewish priests. In theory separation of church and state seemed to culminate in the reply of Jesus to the Pharisees: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's." Yet it has taken many centuries to realize this ideal.

In modern times most churches have become internationalized and denationalized, neither dominating nor being dominated by civil authority. Where all or a large majority of the people of a state or nation are members of the same church

there is, however, at times a tendency toward some sort of partnership between church and state.

The church, as we speak of it here, is a voluntary religious organization maintained for the spiritual betterment of its members and of society at large. Every great religion includes a system of morals by which its worth is, in large measure, judged. It is, however, more than a society for moral culture, as this term is generally used. It includes, in addition, a faith in the ultimate goodness and rationality of the universe. This faith is usually expressed in the church as belief in a personal God, a Being capable of entering into sympathetic relations with man in his highest aspirations. This Supreme Being is generally regarded as the author of the moral law, or as the basis of faith in its ultimate supremacy.

A church is the result of a union of faith in spiritual values with an organization for the purpose of realizing these values. Churches are, however, historical institutions. Neither a state nor a church suddenly springs up independent of the past. Both are likely to be governed in some measure by old customs, some of which may have outlived their usefulness. The rationalistic spirit of youth sometimes fails to make due allowance for these facts and may, therefore, judge defects too harshly and fail to give due weight to the good results that are being attained by the church, results that might not be realized without its aid. By the same method of judgment, the state, the family, and every other

Spiritual
betterment

Growth
toward
perfection

institution might be condemned. The imperfections of these institutions are probably due to the imperfections of human nature; moreover, universal condemnation is not the remedy. Pessimism can remedy nothing, neither can irrational optimism. The philosophical mind sees both the good and the bad, appreciates and advances the one and seeks ways of overcoming or outgrowing the other.

**Brother-
hoods**

In addition to churches there are brotherhoods and religious and ethical societies that have similar aims. Members of these organizations may or may not be affiliated with a church. Because many of them are not, these organizations commonly develop forms and ceremonies as substitutes for those used by the church in connection with the great events of life — christening, marriage, death.

**Benefits of
social re-
ligious
activity**

In the churches and kindred organizations is another illustration of the necessity of social co-operation. After a certain amount of social experience an individual may in his solitude have intense religious emotions, but these are of little worth and may even be detrimental if they are not expressed in appropriate social activities. A church or similar organization provides opportunities for such expression. Experience has demonstrated, too, that individuals gain spirituality and moral strength by association with others of like exalted aims. The sacred music of the churches and the common prayer, when offered in humility and reverence as the expression of a sincere desire, have their effect

upon the congregation in a general spiritual uplift. But this too must find expression in sympathy and mutual helpfulness.

There are those that discredit religious experience because in individual cases and exceptional circumstances people become fanatical. This is analogous to the perversions and imperfections that occur in civic, family, economic, and social affairs. All such are to be avoided, without discrediting the good that exists in institutions. Fanaticism in religion is as objectionable as tyranny in government, duplicity in the family life, or other evils to which institutions are liable.

To the person of steady moral purpose and sound judgment the church offers opportunity for social service. To the person without these qualities it offers sympathetic help in acquiring them.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

Civic pride

IT is one of the functions of the school community to develop virtues necessary to the highest type of citizenship. Among these virtues is civic pride, which, broadly interpreted, seems to include them all. Real civic pride leads one to guard against everything detrimental to the character and reputation of a community, and to further everything that tends to build up a worthy and admirable community life. Such a pride in the school community can be cultivated from the outset. A beginning is made by protecting and enhancing the beauty of the schoolroom, the buildings, and the grounds. Closely allied to this is respect for public property and for public officials in the lawful discharge of their duties. Out of this grows a disposition to be orderly and law-abiding.

Public sentiment

When these qualities become characteristic of the school community, the individual pupil whose action is not in conformity with these ideals will be opposed by the general sentiment of his school associates. This community habit is a very powerful influence in molding the character of the immature individual. It is in the failure to develop this influence to the fullest extent that the school has not measured up to its possibilities. Take, for example, the case of cheating in examinations. Is it not first of all an offense against the school community? The main

purpose of such cheating is to secure a scholastic standing above one's deserts. The standards of the school are supposed to have a community worth which is one factor in measuring the character and reputation of the school. If this measure is falsified by any individual, he thereby becomes an enemy of the school community. He is also an enemy in that he is in direct opposition to one of the chief ideals of the school, that of honesty. The public sentiment of the school may be so developed that cheating becomes impossible. Students in secondary and higher schools especially have it within their power to protect the school or college community from this form of moral corruption. They can do it much more effectively than can teachers.

A false application of the principle of personal **Loyalty** loyalty sometimes leads students to shield others in these practices, even though they disapprove of their conduct. Personal loyalty should be exercised for the good of the individual and should not clash with loyalty to the best good of the community. It is, then, the one that cheats who is disloyal, and the one who would protect him in this act shares in his disloyalty.

The habit of making loyalty to the public welfare **Moral courage** the first consideration, regardless of personal cost, is one of the most desirable qualities in a citizen. Can this quality be developed most successfully if entirely neglected in the school? It is easy for public officials to prosecute members of the so-called criminal classes. The test of their moral

courage comes, however, when there is occasion to prosecute wrongdoers who happen to be in good social standing. This sort of moral courage needs the active support of all good citizens. The habit cultivated in some student communities of tolerating lawlessness and of shielding offenders from punishment is poor preparation for citizenship.

dent
lative

This condition sometimes comes about because of want of coöperation between teachers and students. The former may assume all authority and responsibility and expect the students to be instruments in their hands. But students want to be more than mere instruments; they want to be agents, and to this end may form gangs that can initiate something, even though it be in opposition to law and order.

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it

Such evils can be avoided by coöperation of all the members of the school community. Ultimate authority and responsibility must rest with school officers and teachers, but that is not to say that students may not share in this authority and responsibility. It is as much a part of their education to do so as it is to complete courses of study. To this end various forms of student self-government have been developed and, in some instances, carried out with marked success. The fate of the plan depends upon those who operate it. A social organization, like a machine, however perfect in itself, is liable to failure if mismanaged. The most perfect form of democracy fails to work well with the ignorant or the lawless. The same may

be true of any form of student self-government. It will not succeed without intelligent, active co-operation on the part of all concerned. Opponents of student self-government have objected on the ground that it is, after all, not self-government at all, since the school authorities reserve the right of veto on all acts of student officials. The same objection might be raised against the usual form of territorial government in America, where Congress reserves the right of veto. On this account, however, citizens of territories do not regard their local government as of no value. Under normal conditions there is seldom occasion to exercise the power of veto, either in territorial or in school government. The delegated authority is usually freely exercised in the interests of order and progress, and the responsibility of governing develops capacity for still further responsibility and sovereignty.

The school community is interested in many activities supplementary to those of the classroom, the laboratory, and the library. These activities are carried on by clubs or societies organized for specific purposes; e.g., athletic clubs, musical societies, debating and literary societies, and nature-study clubs. Each such organization may be very useful in promoting the individual development of its members and in advancing the spirit of civic pride and loyalty in the school community.

School
activities

CHAPTER IX

COÖPERATIVE ACTIVITIES IN RURAL DISTRICTS

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IN rural districts there is a large field for public activities quite apart from civil government. A community with civic pride and the coöperative spirit may accomplish more by voluntary effort than it would be possible for government to command.

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ital

One of the first great problems in any undeveloped community seeking improvement is to secure capital. Capital is created by intelligent industry, but the process of improvement goes on faster if, in addition to land and labor, more than the usual amount of capital is available at the outset. There are two methods of securing it; i.e., better credit and better markets. Money at reasonable rates of interest may be secured by the formation of rural credit associations. These by consolidation of their securities and by subjecting their appraisements to government or land-bank approval may obtain long-time loans at low rates of interest and on terms that permit of a gradual reduction of the principal. By this plan farmers may buy needed farm machinery and livestock and, where necessary, provide for irrigation or drainage. Shortage of any equipment necessary to successful farming may keep farmers poor and miserable.

In fruit growing it may be necessary to wait a decade for returns on investment. In stock grow-

ing, likewise, the farmer needs either a large investment in livestock at the beginning, or he should be free from the necessity of selling his increase to meet current expenses. Field crops yield annual or biennial returns, but this type of farming requires machinery and should be carried on in connection with stock raising. There is, too, the initial cost of the land, which keeps many young men out of farming. Ownership of a home and of the land cultivated is one of the great attractions of farm life. Such ownership is of so great importance to civic life that many governments have made provision for using their influence and even their credit to this end.

Farm
ownership

Borrowed money must be returned with interest, and the farmer must find a way of earning it. This involves efficient production and marketing. The early work of agricultural schools and government departments of agriculture had to do largely with increasing production. Later they became alive to the problem of marketing. How can the farmer get his produce to the consumer without its first passing through the hands of jobbing and commission houses, wholesale dealers, retail merchants, and delivery men — a process that impoverishes both the consumer and the producer? Or, worse still, failing altogether to find a consumer, how can he live and thrive on decaying farm products? Occasionally fruit growers thus fail to find a market. One of the best remedies for this evil so far found is coöperative marketing. This often calls for an

Coöpera-
tion in
production
and mar-
keting

agreement among farmers of a district as to their chief market crop. If the district is favorable for dairying, and dairy products are marketable at a reasonable profit, this may be made the prevailing industry.

The method of marketing has also to be determined by agreement. If a city is near by the problem will be to devise, by coöperative action, a plan by which fresh milk and cream of uniform standard can be produced and delivered directly to the customers. In many cases no such market will be available. The farmers then have need of a creamery, cheese factory, or condensed-milk factory. The markets and conditions in respect to the feeding of young stock will determine what sort of a factory should be established. In any case, there must be common decision and united effort. These ends are usually attained through a local agricultural or commercial club.

Likewise, the production of fruit demands co-operative packing and shipping, a fruit cannery, or both. The production of vegetables involves the same problem. The choice is again between prompt and economical delivery of fresh vegetables to urban consumers or a canning factory. Vegetables and fruit, not readily perishable, may be handled by methods of storage and shipment in some respects like the methods of handling grain. But up-to-date storage plants and grain elevators can be managed most successfully by coöperation of the producers.

There are districts where soil and water conditions are such that sugar beets are the most profitable crop. In such cases coöperation on a somewhat larger scale might secure a sugar factory and, by this means, transform what might otherwise be unprofitable lands into valuable farms. There seems to be no reason, in the nature of the case, why independent sugar factories may not be established on the coöperative plan.

All of the above rural activities call for close co-operation in the production, manufacture, and distribution of food products. Such coöperation is necessary, not only to the material well-being of the farmer, but of the consumers as well. Too many people trying to make a profit on what a few produce results in economic oppression.

One of the great drawbacks to rural progress is the lack of home and community conveniences available to city residents. Among these may be named water, sewer, and lighting systems, good roads, street sprinkling on main highways, and graded schools. As these, for the most part, are managed best through the agency of government, we may properly leave their discussion to the chapter on County Government. Owing to the distance between residences some of these conveniences, such as running water in the house and the disposal of sewage, will have to be managed by the farmer himself. Private systems may, however, be required to conform to standards publicly determined. This, too, concerns the county government.

Home and
community
needs

Better opportunity for the cultivation of the social and religious life is one of the great needs of rural communities. Country churches are usually small and poor and far apart. This is partly owing to the fact that the farmers may be scattered in membership between half a dozen churches and no church at all. Failing to get together in one church, the people are in many cases finding a social center in the public school. This has gone so far as to lead, in some communities, to the establishment of a non-sectarian Sunday School and Sunday sermons in the public-school buildings. What will come of this in the way of religious reorganization remains to be seen. This much seems sure, that denominational antagonisms should give way to coöperative religious work. Religious work, too, can be broadened to include socially elevating forms of recreation, intellectual and esthetic culture, and social improvement generally. If these opportunities are not provided by the rural church, they will be provided in connection with the public school, under the leadership of the school principal as civic secretary. The rural communities must have opportunities for a social life in which both personal and community ideals can be realized; otherwise sugar beets and dairy cows can be of little value to the farmer, and he, with his products, becomes but an economic means to the happiness of some one else. The farmer should contribute to the general economic welfare, but in so doing he need not sacrifice his own social inheritance and personality.

CHAPTER X

COUNTY GOVERNMENT

AS a rule incorporated cities and towns manage their strictly local affairs, and the county is concerned with local government outside of cities and incorporated towns. County government may attend to the public schools in rural sections and in the smaller cities, and also to relief for the poor, labor for the unemployed, and kindred public business. Sometimes counties and cities incorporated in them have found it advantageous to consolidate their governments, thus putting all their local problems under one control. Since this is not the rule, however, we shall consider here only the usual problems of county government.

City, town,
and county
affairs

Apart from the schools, which are commonly managed by a board especially elected for the purpose, the building and maintenance of roads is the chief concern of the county. Transcontinental highways may be built by coöperation of state and federal authorities; state highways, by state appropriation and control. Most of the roads in a county are not, however, of this kind, and their making and maintenance is clearly a county responsibility. Free, easy means of communication to all parts of the community is a public necessity that only government can well provide. It is necessary to the conduct of business in a rural community that the roads shall always be in good

Roads

condition. To this end the board of county commissioners should employ competent civil engineers and road supervisors. The old method of poll tax and "working out the tax" have doubtless outlived their usefulness; although, as a system adapted to strictly rural conditions, it may have served a good end. As a tax assessment, however, it is inequitable and economically unprofitable. Money for roads is now generally raised in the same ways as are other public funds. By expending this money on a large scale and on a uniform plan under expert direction, much more can be accomplished than under the old methods.

In connection with the problem of road maintenance is that of sprinkling and lighting the main highways. Outside of cities no unit smaller than the county can well provide these necessities. Where dust prevails sprinkling is necessary to health as well as to comfort, and light is necessary to safety on roads much traveled at night.

Health

Health regulations must be maintained by public authority. The necessity for this is so great that health officers are given almost military powers. It is unfortunate that the imagination of many people is so dull and their mental habits so sluggish that they will tolerate conditions that perpetually threaten the lives of their neighbors. They may be very well-disposed neighbors, too—always ready to nurse the sick and to follow as mourners to the grave those that have been killed by their negligence. There is great necessity for public, authoritative protection from

such ignorance or thoughtlessness. This applies to the detection of contagious diseases and the enforcement of quarantine regulations as well as to the maintenance of other standard sanitary conditions.

A group of problems connected with relief for the poor, work for the unemployed, medical and hospital care of the destitute, and widows' pensions, to the extent that these matters are not cared for by the state, call for action by the county. To allow the destitute to beg on the street or from door to door is a double wrong. It is unfair to the indigent, and it thrusts an unwarranted responsibility upon the citizen who is asked to give. Who can tell without investigation whether or not he ought to give? And by what means can a busy private citizen discriminate between a worthy and an unworthy beggar? Even with the best of intentions, the individual solicited may do the wrong thing. There should be a public tribunal to which the destitute can appeal and submit their cases for investigation and appropriate action. There should be provision, too, whereby the able-bodied unemployed may, at any time, secure work to provide for their necessities. Much of this can be accomplished through a publicly conducted employment bureau. This, however, will need to be supplemented by some public work for which the county itself can pay an honest, industrious individual enough to redeem him from beggary and want. No such individual should ever be under the necessity of going to the jail for a meal or a night's lodgings.

Relief for
the poor

Worthy but unfortunate individuals too feeble to work and without individual or family support should be cared for by the public; otherwise they will be driven to choose between crime and starvation. It is contrary to public welfare and humanitarian principles that any one should be compelled to make such a choice. The county should also maintain a hospital, a medical staff, and a medical dispensary where the destitute sick may be cared for at public expense. This may include, where necessary, medical attention in the home.

**Widows'
pensions**

The widow's pension is properly a salary paid the widow for the care and home education of her fatherless children. It is akin to relief for the poor in that such a pension or salary is paid only in case of family need. The state has already taken over the public education of all its children. In case of inability of the family to rear them properly, must not the state assume this additional responsibility? Where conditions are favorable, what better method could be devised than to employ the mother to care for her children? Home life and family unity may thereby be maintained. As with public education, so with widows' pensions, the state must furnish the chief financial support. As a guarantee of faithful administration, however, the county may well be asked to contribute to this fund.

Education

The county consolidated school system is rapidly replacing the old small-district system. This change is to secure greater efficiency and more nearly equal

opportunities to all children. The general efficiency is advanced by making possible the employment of professional superintendents and supervisors of schools; also, in many cases, the better grading of pupils and provision of high-school facilities for all. This may involve public transportation of those not within walking distance of the schools. These provisions, together with uniformly well-trained teachers and a satisfactory school calendar, are made possible by the constitution of a larger unit of taxation for school purposes. The state should be the chief provider, with the county or other administrative unit as a second. This will involve subjection of county control to state authority.

The county school system should include, in addition to the usual schoolroom arts, instruction concerning local industries and current civic affairs. This instruction, on the side of industrial education, is being extended to all the people by coöperative action of federal, state, and county governments. It is seen in the work of farm and home demonstrators, farmers' institutes, and extension and correspondence courses of study. Similar methods might well be employed for the public enlightenment on all current educational, political, and social problems.

CHAPTER XI

THE TOWN AND THE CITIZEN

The purpose of incorporating

A VILLAGE may become an incorporated town for the purpose of owning and operating local public utilities and of securing a stricter control in its social affairs. Whether or not an incorporated town shall assume the burden of the care and upkeep of its streets, public sanitation and quarantine, and other such civic functions depends upon the provisions of law under which towns are incorporated. State laws governing these matters should conform to public needs. A village should be allowed to incorporate for the purpose of regulating a few purely local problems such as those first named above, without also taking over civic functions that can be managed better by a larger administrative unit.

Town water system

A purely local utility — a community water system, for instance — is not usually managed by county government. A village, if it would have a water system, is therefore forced to choose between incorporating as a town or depending upon private ownership and management for this public necessity. This is also true of the establishment and maintenance of a sewer system or other community need.

Social affairs

The control of social affairs may, however, be managed by a local committee in coöperation with the county authorities and the public schools. For

this purpose alone it is not really necessary to assume the expenses of a town government.

A community library is frequently established by town government. This is an important means of public education, but it has been observed that in order to make the most of the money invested, it is well to have such a library connected with the school and under the management of the educational authorities. For the same reason a small park and playgrounds can serve a double purpose if affiliated with the schools. A county library system associated with the public schools may include books and packages for circulation both within and without towns. The point of this arrangement is to avoid unnecessary duplication of public expenses and administrative functions.

Library

In the small town, as in the rural community, there will arise many social problems quite apart from governmental authority, yet none the less problems of citizenship. For instance, the permanent well-being of any community must rest upon a sound economic basis. Fifty thousand dollars spent in starting a new industry is worth more to a town than the same amount of money put into a clubhouse, the chief purpose of which is to form a meeting place for talking about building up the town. In large cities it may be possible to have both clubhouse and industries; but even there, if choice must be made, let it be in favor of the industries.

Economic
basis of
town
develop-
ment

The attempt to build up fortunes by artificially booming town lots is no credit to the citizenship

Real-estate
booms

of any community. No real wealth is thus created, and such fortunes must be made ultimately at the expense of some one else. This is the essence of gambling, which in its uglier forms is condemned and is punishable by law.

The commercial center

We may divide towns into three types: commercial, industrial, and residential. A town that is the commercial center of a rural district may normally grow with the increase of the business of the district it serves. Whether or not it shall ever become a large city will depend in part upon its situation and in part upon the development of substantial business houses.

Manufacturing industries

A second type is the town that is neither a commercial center nor a residential suburb. Such a town must build upon its industries. If these are wholly agricultural and are to continue to be so, the community must remain semi-rural and should avoid small lots, excessive land values, or other of the most common characteristics of towns. Very high values tend to make agriculture a failure, and in an agricultural community are sure to bring a reaction, with financial disaster and despondency to the citizens and investors. If this type of town would have permanent growth in population, wealth, and property, it should establish manufacturing industries as an economic basis. These may well be related to the agricultural activities of the surrounding district, such as factories that prepare the raw materials of the farm for home use, storage, or shipment, or industries that provide machinery,

vehicles, furniture, or other mechanical products for use in the homes and in agricultural work. A town that builds in this way may some day become a great manufacturing city.

Of quite a different type is the town that is a suburb of a large city; its growth must depend upon its attractiveness as a residence district. To this end the residents of the town may beautify their homes, keeping all buildings in first-class condition, improve every foot of ground, and remove all noxious weeds and ugly sights, including billboards.

Suburban
attractions

To one seeking residence in the suburbs the educational facilities, the social life, and the moral tone of the community are primary considerations. Satisfactory conditions in these respects attract young families from the more crowded quarters of the city. Heads of such families are usually looking for a good place to bring up boys and girls. They want excellent schools, both elementary and secondary, and opportunities for esthetic enjoyment — art and music — in everyday life. They want to live in a community of intelligent, sympathetic men and women, a people always ready and willing to coöperate in any feasible undertaking for social betterment. It is upon these characteristics in its citizens and civic life that any town may safely build.

CHAPTER XII

PROBLEMS OF THE CITY

Sanitation

THE problems of municipal government vary with the size of the city, the prevailing industries, and the characteristics of the inhabitants. There is, however, always the great problem of keeping the city physically and morally clean. Sanitation, in this enlarged sense, is the greatest concern of both the government and the citizens.

Water and
sewer
systems

Physical sanitation requires an abundant supply of pure water for culinary purposes, and if this pure water is limited to household use, an additional water system for flushing streets and sewers is needed. This is a reason why a city should never depend upon privately owned water or water system. In the arid regions especially an ambitious city must plan far ahead in securing its water supply, which is as much a public necessity as are the streets. It is needed for many public purposes and must be supplied to every householder by public authority. In a large city there is danger in allowing families to use drinking water from wells or other sources that are subject to contamination. The health of the whole city may thus be endangered. Whatever may be the source of an epidemic of typhoid or other disease must be eliminated. For like reasons a sewer system must be provided, to be extended as the city is built up, and every householder must be required to connect with the system. Cess-

pools in a city are a private nuisance and a public menace.

All that we have said in the chapter on Public Regulation of Food Markets applies with special force to the city. It is not safe to eat a raw oyster or to drink a cup of milk unless the source and methods of handling these supplies have been officially inspected. Since perishable products are an ever increasing danger as time goes on, it is highly desirable, for sanitary as well as for other reasons, that these products pass as quickly as possible from the producer to the consumer. This process is facilitated in some measure by the maintenance of public markets. The parcel post has also been helpful. **Public markets**

With all the provisions for distribution that have thus far been made, there is still considerable waste of perishable food supplies. These and other waste products need to be quickly removed from the city. For this purpose every city must maintain a system for the removal and disposal of garbage. All combustibleables that cannot be put to beneficial use should be burned, and all else so disposed of as not to be an eyesore or a stench to people on the outskirts of the city. **Garbage**

The maintenance of isolation hospitals, the regulation of quarantine and fumigation, and the frequent medical inspection of children in the schools is part of the very important duties of the health officers. This relates to matters of life and death. Careless exercise of the functions and powers of the board of health or a disposition on the part of **Health**

citizens to evade these regulations may cost many inhabitants their lives and many homes the loss or serious disability of their children. This is a case where ignorance is inexcusable and thoughtlessness a crime.

Lighting
plants

Abundant light is imperative in streets and parks, if open at night, not only for physical comfort and safety, but also for social reasons. Only the boldest criminals are not afraid of the light; and darkness, itself, may be a temptation to wrong doing. Ownership by the city of its own lighting plant, especially if it is run by water power, fosters the abundant use of electric lamps.

Heating
plants

Closely allied to the lighting problem is that of heating. The unregulated use of soft coal is often the bane of city life. If it is needful to require prompt disposal of sewage and garbage, may it not be equally needful to restrain a householder who would pass smoke too freely into his neighbors' nostrils? But it may be as hard for the individual, unaided, to control this as it would be for him to dispose of other waste products. Where smokeless fuel or cheap electrical energy is not available, the city may have to supply smoke-consuming heating plants for private as well as for public buildings. These undertakings call for coöperation of citizens on a large scale. The municipal corporation itself is the most effective means of accomplishing this. Mere bemoaning the evil or exhorting citizens to do what they individually cannot well accomplish will never remedy the situation.

In a large city many people are compelled to live in tenement houses. Many of these renters with relatively small incomes have to secure the cheapest quarters available. Experience has shown that, in the absence of public standards and inspection, many landlords will continue to lease antiquated, poorly lighted, and generally insanitary buildings. People do not, of course, want to live in such quarters if they can avoid it; but even if they did, there is no more reason why they should be permitted to do so than to drink milk loaded with typhoid germs. No one has a moral right to expose himself, still less his family, to disease if it can be avoided without neglecting duty. Tuberculosis contracted in an illy ventilated, poorly lighted tenement house is not simply an individual or even a family tragedy; it is a public wrong, the evil effects of which cannot well be measured.

Tenement
houses

The hotels, rooming houses, and cafés are, for the most part, a means of entertainment for the stranger within the city's gates. If these public places are insanitary or morally corrupt, it is an offense to the guests, for which offense the city must be responsible. It is one of the most ancient and valued traditions of the human race that the stranger received as a guest shall be protected at any cost. The generous hospitality of primitive men to friendly travelers is echoed by modern cities in the efforts to secure conventions, to welcome visitors by means of electric signs, and to pass to them the keys of the city. This is all very well, but it is a mockery if

Hotels and
cafés

these visitors are not provided with clean beds in which to sleep and a moral atmosphere in which to live.

ntrol of
usements

There are two main reasons why amusements should be publicly regulated: first, to insure sanitary conditions of the building, especially in regard to ventilation, and secondly, to guard against bad moral influences. On the latter ground of action the public has not generally seen fit to go beyond the negative attitude. Some municipalities have, however, established their own houses of amusement, as they have libraries, parks, and playgrounds. With public ownership and management of amusements, positive educational methods may be introduced. Unregulated theatricals, picture shows, and dance halls are among the greatest dangers to youth. The people have seen fit to abolish the saloon and forbid entirely the liquor traffic. May not the same principle of prohibition apply to the poison offered over the stage footlights? There can be no doubt of the right and the duty of the city thus to prohibit.

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vities

The modern moving picture, notwithstanding its frequent perversion, can be made an acceptable instrument both of amusement and of education. For the latter purpose it would be well to have every school building equipped with moving-picture apparatus and appropriate films. These facilities could also be used in the evening for the entertainment and instruction of the public. The phonograph, with sets of the best musical records, might

be similarly utilized. These observations apply also to schools in towns and rural districts, and what has been said in previous chapters of libraries, parks, and playgrounds applies with equal or greater force to the large city. Here also, in the heart of the business district where it is not advisable to have schools, small parks and reading rooms should be supplied.

In cities compulsive methods of physical sanitation are so imperative as to demand public ownership and management of all the means of community sanitation. People have, however, been slow to recognize their mental and moral needs. These needs are not restricted to children in the schools or to the traditional work of the schools. The functions of municipal governments are being so expanded as to provide no less for man's moral, intellectual, and esthetic development than for his physical welfare.

CHAPTER XIII

THE STATE OR PROVINCE

Education

EDUCATION is the chief business of the state. No other unit of government is so well fitted to be responsible for the training and instruction of budding citizens. The individual rights of children and the social needs of the future should not be put in jeopardy either by the negligence or the poverty of a local community, although it is well to permit the various counties and cities to participate in the management of their local schools. The authority of county and city boards of education is, however, derived from the state and is subject to state revision as the cause of education may require. The management of higher and professional education is directly in the hands of the state, whose business it is not only to provide but also to coördinate and regulate the work of higher institutions. Mere local interests and factions should be entirely subordinated to the educational welfare of all the people of the state.

State control of education may very well imply state support. Institutions under the direct management of the states will be supported entirely by these divisions, with such aid as may be given by the federal government. Schools controlled by city or county boards of education may properly receive partial support from these respective divisions. Financial inability of a city or county should

not, however, interfere with educational efficiency. This difficulty may be overcome by special grants of school funds to counties and cities thus situated.

The United States government has been very liberal in providing funds, both in lands and in money, and in placing these resources at the disposal of the states. This is justified on the ground that the public lands, as a part of the common heritage, may properly be used as a means of educating each new generation. Since these lands are held in the name of the national government, and the control of education is with the states, a certain portion of public land has been transferred to the states. The sale or rental of these lands provides a permanent fund toward the support of public education. It is one of the great responsibilities of state governments so to manage these lands and funds derived from them that the schools will receive the greatest possible aid. As a general policy it may not be best for the state to retain permanent ownership of all these lands; it is, however, quite possible for the state to sell to the highest bidder and to decline to sell below a fixed minimum price. It has happened in some states that school lands have been sold in unlimited quantities at a low fixed valuation. These lands have thus become an object of speculation to build up private fortunes, while the schools have had to part with their heritage for a mere pittance.

**Federal
aid for
schools**

The safe and profitable investment of school-land funds, the use of the interest only, and the

guarantee of the integrity of the principal, are all reasonable requirements for a general government to make of a state. It is also in the interest of the states themselves to do this, since they must in any event supplement these funds by others derived from taxation.

Powers of
state
government

The American federal constitution provides that the enactment of the great body of law pertaining to property, contracts, and crimes be left with the legislatures of the various states. This is in agreement with the principle of federal government which recognizes self-governing states as its components.

Taxation

In previous chapters we have discussed property rights and the allied subject of taxation and control of public utilities. It may be well to say further that the state has not only the problem of enacting revenue laws in conformity with sound principles relating to taxation, it has also the problem of correlating its own system with that of the nation on the one hand and that of the county and city on the other. This is a practical problem that demands the greatest wisdom of legislators and expert economists. There need, however, be no sacrifices of the fundamental principles of taxation, as is too often the case.

labor
laws

The development of complex industrial situations has, in recent years; made it necessary for legislatures and courts to modify older views of the right of freedom of contract. It is now commonly recognized that the exercise of this right must be strictly subordinate to the general welfare. A mere formal

freedom is of little value compared with the real freedom guaranteed to the worker by just labor laws.

In manufacturing communities the regulation of industrial plants and local transportation companies in the interests of the health and safety of employees and the public is an important state function. This may include measures to forbid befouling the air with poisonous fumes, dust, or other substances injurious to health. Within each industry there may be need of regulating the hours of labor, the lighting, ventilating, and general sanitation of buildings; devices for protecting employees from dangerous machinery; and similar measures. These matters can be managed better by an industrial commission under legislative authority than by detailed laws.

Akin to these problems are the making and administration of employers' liability and workmen's compensation laws. These laws aim to provide, without the delay and expense of litigation, an equitable basis of settlement. This is a matter of justice to the families of those that pay the toll of industry in disability or death.

Another public service both to industries and to workmen may be accomplished through a state labor exchange. This office might well do its work in coöperation with the county employment bureaus. The social value of finding laborers for every legitimate industry and suitable jobs for the unemployed is self-evident.

Widows'
pension
and insur-
ance

Under County Government we have spoken of the widows' pension. This must be provided for by a state pension fund. A state may safeguard itself against excessive pension burdens by offering a limited amount of state life insurance at cost, or by providing for insurance in mutual companies under state supervision. The successful operation of such a plan would make at least partial provision for a great many otherwise dependent widows and children.

Suppression
of crime

The suppression of crime has to do, first of all, with the preservation of civilized society. Society must not be put in jeopardy by the license of any individual. On the contrary it is the business of the state to resort to whatever means of restraint may be necessary to prevent such trespass upon the present and future welfare of the race. In the case of juvenile offenders it is assumed that society may be adequately protected and the individual offenders saved by educational methods. Accordingly parental and reform schools, juvenile courts, and detention homes have been provided by the state for the training of these abnormal individuals while their characters are still plastic. Efforts are also being made to provide work and other means of character building for adults under sentence for crime. The state does not engage in punishment for the mere sake of punishment. It punishes for the protection of society and, in so far as possible, the reform of the offender. Neither of these ends is accomplished by vindictiveness on the one hand

or a foolish sentimentality on the other. This sentimentality is sometimes manifested by persons of abnormal constitution, or by adherents of a self-contradictory theory that denies individual responsibility to the criminal for his acts of violence, yet holds society responsible for its so-called crime of punishing.

The state has, or may have, the privilege of co-operating with the national government in the execution of plans for large irrigation and drainage systems, agricultural experiment stations, agricultural education, and the improvement of rural credits. There is no reason why this public activity may not be extended more freely to experiments in new manufacturing and mining industries, or similar undertakings for the promotion of the general good.

Relation
to the
federal
government

Since the Civil War the authority of the states of the American Union has in some respects been curtailed, while that of the national government has been extended. This extension of national authority has recently been further accelerated by the exigencies of both peace and war.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NATION

ational
defense

AS the world is now constituted, national defense is an imperative demand that is forced upon us. This governmental function should be cared for by the largest political unit. Under this plan states and provinces are armed, not for protection against each other, but, through the national organization, for protection against a foreign national outlaw; this may be necessary so long as there are such outlaws. The difficult problem is to provide for necessary defense without cultivating a love of war and a tendency toward foreign aggression.

egulation
com-
merce

The national government is the only proper authority to conduct diplomatic affairs, to regulate foreign trade, and to discover and promote legitimate ways of advancing national prosperity. To this end, domestic trade is no less important than foreign trade. Interstate commerce and interstate industries are also regulated by the national government; and where internal trade is highly developed, this has become one of the most important national problems. Interstate commerce may concern the manufacture, distribution, and sale of any article that passes over a state boundary; the tariff charges for distribution; the rates and conditions of passenger service; and the prohibition of such traffic as may be in opposition to the public welfare. Another phase is the relation between capital in-

vested and labor employed by interstate commerce, which raises problems most serious in character and most difficult of solution. The national government deals with all the above problems through departments and commissions whose duties are to attend to the details of administration and to make such rules and rates as circumstances may require. In this type of public service a federal employment bureau as a means of correlation between the state bureaus and in connection with labor in interstate business might accomplish much toward the most advantageous distribution of labor. Government has done many things for the promotion of industry and commerce and thereby, indirectly, for labor. Is there any good reason why it should not offer more direct aid to labor?

The public necessity of convenient means of transportation and communication and the difficulties involved in regulating transportation companies have led some nations to take over the ownership and operation of the railroads as well as of telegraph, telephone, and postal systems. All are subject, even when privately owned, not only to public regulation, but to public command, in case their failure to operate interferes with the functions of government or with public necessity. This does not involve annulling property rights; it does involve their subordination to the well-being of society, which is the first concern of government.

The postal system is an example of what government can do for the public convenience and at the

Ownership
or control
of public
utilities

The postal
system

same time use its power for the suppression of forms of communication that are in opposition to public morality and progress. The lottery business by correspondence was thus suppressed. Later the use of the mails was forbidden to any scheme devised primarily to create business by appealing to the gambling instinct. On this account some promoters and boosters for business have found it necessary to print on their advertising cards and prize coupons a notice such as this: "Do not mail this card! The U. S. postal regulations prohibit, under severe penalties, the mailing of any prize coupon." Heavy penalties are also provided against the transmission through the mails of obscene literature or other matter designed to promote the social evil.

prohibition
of liquor
traffic

One of the most recent important developments of a national function is that of national prohibition of the liquor traffic. As in the case of many other reforms, this one had its beginnings in local communities. But town or county prohibition under a local-option law was not always effectual. This fact led to state-wide prohibition. May we not hope that this will lead ultimately, by the concert of nations, to universal prohibition of this source of human degradation? This reform has been long delayed because of the assumption that it involved an interference with individual rights. The voters are, however, coming to see that no man has a right to anything that will degrade either himself or others.

Although the states have assumed responsibility for the education of their citizens, financial aid and coöperation in investigations by the federal government have always been welcome. Federal appropriations of money to the land-grant colleges and agricultural experiment stations are examples of coöperative support with state control, subject to the conditions of the federal appropriations. The United States Bureau of Education, while having no authority over education in the various states, is a great help to them through its system of collecting and freely distributing useful information concerning the progress of education, both at home and abroad. Education

Military and naval academies, and schools for the aborigines as wards of the nation, are supported and controlled by the federal government. The federal government undertakes other investigations and educational work through the Department of Agriculture, the National Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, the Geological Survey, the Coast Survey, and similar organizations. The Department of Commerce, including the Bureau of Labor and Statistics, has both educational and business functions. A national university at the seat of government that shall bring together and extend all these instruments of research has been much talked of. The realization of this ideal would be a fitting climax to the educational work of the nation.

To the national government is committed the responsibility of controlling the use of all natural

resources
of
local
resources

resources which, together with labor and human ingenuity, form the ultimate economic basis of society. This responsibility sometimes requires the exercise of administrative duties in parts remote from the seat of government. The practical difficulties of this type of administration have led to the suggestion that the national government should transfer control of local resources to local authorities. The use of power sites, with retention of public ownership, may be an example of giving control of a resource to the particular community that is able to use it advantageously without depriving other communities or future generations of similar opportunities. National forests, in so far as their value for grazing purposes is concerned, have likewise a local use. This use must, however, be subordinated to the main purpose of forest reserves, whose chief product will be available to the whole nation.

public ex-
penditures

A very prominent item in the nation's business is that of revenues and appropriations. Since the principles of taxation have already been discussed, we may pass to those of public expenditures. Here we are at once confronted with the twin political monsters, the spoils system and the "pork barrel." Government of any kind can never measure up to reasonable standards of efficiency and morality so long as these sons of greed have any part in it. The "pork barrel" has led occasionally to unnecessarily large appropriations for town post offices and the waste of hundreds of thousands of dollars in seed

distribution. This has been one means of increasing the public debt, in direct violation of sound business principles. All the routine and technical work of government should be limited to public needs, including the most profitable public investments. Whatever needs to be done by the largest coöperative effort of the people should be undertaken by the national government. The government may properly use its credit in the construction of highways of commerce, irrigation systems, or other public investments that will themselves repay the debt; it has no moral right to borrow for current expenses except in a national emergency, and expenses thus incurred should be paid as quickly as possible, that burdens may not be heaped upon future generations.

CHAPTER XV

• THE SUFFRAGE

The right
of suffrage
versus the
duties of
electors

CITIZENS have too often thought of the right of suffrage more than of the duties of electors. This condition should be reversed. No one can claim suffrage as a moral right until he is able to exercise it for the public good. This conclusion is the result of experience with representative government.

The suf-
frage and
military
service

Political history shows that the elective franchise was at first more a matter of might than of right and that its extension was closely connected with that of military service. Until recently association of these two functions prevented men from seeing any inconsistency between denying the elective franchise to women and sustaining a woman as their sovereign. From this view of the suffrage, growing out of the conditions and customs of the past, there has developed the newer notion that the right of suffrage finds its only proper basis in the intelligence and responsibility of the citizen. On this ground many states have conceded this right to their women citizens. Others are still debating the problem. It should be noted that the burden of proof is with those that deny the suffrage to any adult citizen. While it must be admitted that men and women are in some respects different, it has not been shown that these differences are of a kind that should admit men and exclude women from the

Woman
suffrage

polls. Protection, education, and the promotion of morality are the most important functions of the state. Are women less interested and less concerned in these questions than are men? Do men or women suffer more when these vital public matters are neglected or profit more when they are cared for? If it is contended that husbands represent their wives at elections, it must be noted that some wives are better able to represent themselves and that some mature women have no husbands.

This problem is not one for compromise between men as a class and women as a class. With interest in public welfare as a basis of classification, there are no such classes. Humanity is so constituted that men and women must always work together for the common good, as they do in the ideal family.

The franchise is denied to minors because they are wanting in maturity of judgment and in responsibility. For similar reasons this right is withheld from savages or semi-civilized peoples residing within the boundaries of a republic. This condition is, however, presumed to be temporary, awaiting the education of those concerned in the prerequisites of citizenship.

**Limitations
of the right
of suffrage**

Criminals guilty of felony are generally disfranchised because they are wanting in moral purpose. The right of franchise might be withheld from others if there were available an unmistakable method of determining all that are seriously wanting in moral purpose. A test based upon reading ability is not

satisfactory even as a test of intelligence; as a test of character it is practically valueless.

primaries
and
political
conventions

Proper and complete exercise of the suffrage requires knowledge of ethical and political principles and social problems, and familiarity with current public affairs. This must be supplemented by knowledge of public men, especially those who are candidates for office. If this is impossible for the mass of voters, the selection of candidates should be delegated to conventions composed of citizens who have the time, opportunity, and character to exercise wisely this delegated power. The delegation of power calls for attendance of every citizen at the primaries; and where the method of direct nominations has been established, there follows the duty of voting for candidates at primary elections. The establishment of this more democratic method of making nominations for public office has, in some respects, been disappointing to the friends of democracy. There are two main reasons for this: first, inability or indisposition of voters to exercise this political function with adequate knowledge of candidates and discretion in voting, and secondly, the tendency of candidates to engage in extensive self-advertising, often involving the expenditure of large sums of money. It is within the power of the electorate to correct both of these evils. The public may teach candidates that it is character, ability, and adaptability to a given position that counts, rather than self-advertising and hauling voters to the polls.

The primary election may be very well adapted to municipal or county government, but not well adapted to nominations for state and federal offices, because in local government voters have better opportunities to become acquainted with candidates. This problem will have to be solved by experience and future practice determined on the pragmatic principle that that plan of government is best which works best.

The convention plan of making nominations is most generally associated with the functions of political parties. Under a system of government by parties, the greatest issues are usually decided in the convention. The party decision of these issues is proclaimed to the voters in the platform or declaration of principles. It is assumed that all candidates named will be morally and politically bound to carry out, if elected, the policies adopted in the platform. When all parties are through with these preliminaries, the voter on election day may discover, too late, that he is reduced to a choice between evils — bad and worse candidates. To avoid this the voter must begin his work at the primary. Besides choosing politically wise and trustworthy delegates, the voters may instruct these delegates concerning the adoption of important public policies and the nomination of candidates to carry out these policies. In matters of detail or emergencies, however, delegates should not be denied initiative.

The chief evils of party government and strict

**Partisan
politics**

party affiliation of voters is the tendency on the part of some voters and even party leaders to put loyalty to party above devotion to right and public welfare. Every worthy citizen must hold principles above allegiance to party and always be ready to support a just cause even though his party is against it. Under a system of party government the citizens generally must affiliate with a party in order to exercise all their political duties. It is undesirable, however, that they should act on strict party lines in the selection of officers whose duties are not concerned with the issues on which party lines are drawn. One of the incongruities of our government is that parties are formed on federal issues, and these same parties govern in local affairs where the issues are quite different. What have questions of tariff and free trade, currency, or a national banking system to do with city, county, or state problems? The commission form of municipal government is designed to free the city from partisan political control. Should not county politics be equally independent of national parties? And may not the same question be asked concerning state politics? State legislatures are not concerned ordinarily with the same problems as is the federal Congress. Why then should the national platforms and candidates be influential factors in the election of state legislators? So long as United States senators were elected by the state legislatures there was an excuse for electing legislators on national party issues. There is now, fortunately, no such excuse.

It is generally conceded that judges and school-board members should be chosen strictly on their qualifications, regardless of political affiliations. Are there not good reasons for applying this method to all phases of local government?

CHAPTER XVI

PUBLIC OFFICE

The pur-
pose of
govern-
ment

PUBLIC officials are necessary to the functions of government. Whatever the form of government or the method of its operation, its only legitimate purpose is the good of the governed. All acts of public officials should be guided by this principle. It is as true of the government of colonies, however wild and undeveloped, as it is of the government of the most highly cultivated self-governing community. This principle is the political version of Kant's maxim: "So act as to regard humanity, whether in thine own person or in that of another, always as an end, never as a means." By this principle slavery, peonage, excessive or deadening child labor, white slavery, or any similar exploitation of humanity is condemned. There is one inalienable right that belongs to all humanity, that of personality — the right to live a moral life. Upon this no public officer has a right to trespass by exploiting his fellow men or the resources upon which they depend.

Officers
elected or
appointed

In democratic government there are two methods of securing office, by election and by appointment. Officers whose duties are primarily legislative or executive, relating to execution of the expressed will of the voters, are elected. Judicial officers and public attorneys or prosecutors may be either elected or appointed. It happens that the federal

government has adopted the appointive plan, while the states generally follow the elective plan. In any case there is no occasion for party politics in the administration of justice. Officers whose duties are clerical, or administrative under the direction of a chief executive, or subject to the approval of some political body, are usually appointed. This applies also to commissions charged with the administration of laws and to boards of control of public institutions. Citizens usually accept such offices as an honor, without indulging in campaigning to secure appointment. Commissioners having to do with the administration of laws, such as those relating to interstate commerce, must have had special training and experience to fit them for their technical duties. This fact makes it especially desirable that those appointed to membership on such commissions should make this their life's work, except as they may be promoted to more responsible positions. The case is different with boards of control of institutions, in that the members serve for limited periods. They should, of course, be men of wide experience and high character. These boards, however, properly delegate all technical work to experts whom they hold responsible in all administrative matters. These experts also become public officers, with a degree of permanence comparable to that of expert commissioners.

In case of clerical or other similar offices it is evident that efficiency and justice to individuals call for permanence in office, assuming that the

Civil
service

public good is in view when appointments are made. It was on account of this need that civil service laws were first enacted, and have since been extended in their scope.

Whether an officer is to be elected or appointed, it is manifest that fitness is the only proper test. In case of elective officers the ultimate determining factor is the good sense of the voters. In the appointment of judges, commissioners, and regents or trustees, the people must depend upon the faithful exercise of the appointive power. In professional and clerical offices appointments are guarded by civil service regulations or the spirit of the civil service laws.

corrupt
practice

Among the evils that have grown up in connection with elective public offices is that of excessive campaign expenses. This evil is a menace to the integrity of the republican form of government. If heavy campaign expenses are permitted, the rich candidate is given advantage over the one of small means — an advantage that may be wholly unwarranted and against public welfare. If large campaign expenses are contributed by a few wealthy supporters of a candidate, in case of election this officer feels under obligation to these contributors. This fosters boss rule. The common practice of party assessment of candidates cannot be commended. To the candidate it is too much like buying public office, and that by a method akin to lottery. An office is a trust for public service and should not be connected with any method of campaign and election that tends to pervert its social purpose.

Most of the usual expenses of a campaign can and ought to be eliminated. Neither parties nor candidates should be permitted to convey voters to the polls. All who are able should go independently; those who are not, should be conveyed at public expense, or not at all. The amount that can be expended for political advertisements should be strictly limited or eliminated, as should also the payment of money to so-called "ward heelers" or house-to-house canvassers. Money paid for auditoriums might be saved by throwing the public schoolhouses open, under proper restrictions, to all political parties and candidates. Independent newspapers might render a great public service by publishing in condensed and dignified form the arguments of the various parties in support of their principles.

With all these reforms there might still be occasion to spend a little money in political campaigns. This should be raised by popular subscription of the party members or those that believe in a cause or a candidate. Of the various evils connected with campaign expenses, this popular subscription seems to be the least objectionable.

By the enactment of corrupt-practice laws limiting expenses and contributions, and requiring entire publicity, legislators have sought to eliminate the evils of political campaigns. This may lead to further legal prohibition of various kinds of campaign expenses now current. Indirect bribery is but one step removed from a penitentiary offense.

principles
above
party

Whether partisan or non-partisan before election, it is the business of every public official to serve all the people according to his best judgment and ability. In return he should have the support and coöperation of all the citizens. When a public official is working for party advantage, very naturally he invites the opposition of the members of other parties. These citizens are tempted, in retaliation, to seek his embarrassment. Such a condition is destructive of the ends of government. Furthermore, a minority member of a legislative body who is an extreme partisan, develops the habit of opposing the majority in every measure they seek to enact, irrespective of its merits. This subordination of justice and public welfare to partisan politics is unworthy of any citizen and, more especially, of any public officer.

CHAPTER XVII

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

FROM the beginning of civilization it has been customary for nations to have something by way of common understanding as to their manner of dealing with each other in peace and war. These customary common understandings are the beginnings of the Law of Nations, which recognizes nations as moral individuals responsible to the society of nations. This responsibility has not always been taken seriously, because there has been no sufficient organization to hold any one nation to strict accountability. As a consequence the Law of Nations, including treaty rights, has often been violated.

The Law
of Nations

Under the rules of international law, independent or sovereign nations are presumed to be equal, without regard to their relative populations or military prowess. Since there is no international legislative body, international law must be developed from the principles of social ethics. These principles are agreed upon by publicists and modified as custom and circumstances may require.

Hugo Grotius in 1625 published his treatise "*De Jure Belli et Pacis*." This treatise gave breadth and scientific form to the principles of international law and won for its author the reputation of being the father of these principles. Since the seventeenth century there has been a gradual development of

international law, and efforts have been made to devise permanent means of interpreting and applying these laws in all cases of international disputes. The most notable result of these efforts is the establishment of an international court of arbitration at The Hague.

courts of
arbitration

It was the hope of the advocates of peace and conciliation that the court at The Hague would become the means of settling, on the principles of law and equity, all international disputes whatsoever. While this hope has been deferred, it has not been abandoned.

The recognition of ethical principles long since led to the substitution of courts of law for personal encounters, although until recently "gentlemen" were permitted to settle a matter of personal honor by fighting a duel. The exclusion of matters of national honor from courts of arbitration is the relic of this custom. Nations as moral individuals follow the same path of moral progress as does the individual citizen, but more slowly. This is owing in part to the fact that the citizen is provided with courts of law upheld by the strong arm of organized society. These courts protect him, secure his rights, and even punish him if he undertakes to settle matters by physical force. Such authoritative courts are the great need in the affairs of nations.

example of
federal
government

The union of states under a federal government is a step in this direction. Notwithstanding their federal union, the American people have had one great civil war. That war has, however, settled

opinion as to the nature, permanency, and merits of a federal union. No one now wishes to maintain numerous independent states whose people speak the same language and have common interests and similar ideals of government.

This principle of coöperation can be extended to nations by treaties providing for settlement of all disputes whatsoever, first, by diplomatic conciliation, and if this fails, by disinterested arbitrators. This process can be greatly facilitated by the maintenance of one great court of arbitration for the use of all nations that fail to settle their differences by diplomacy.

As there are outlaw individuals in every state, so we may presume that, for the present, there may be outlaw nations. In order that law and order may be established universally, the law-abiding nations will have to maintain a sufficient army and navy for international service in enforcing obedience upon the lawless. This will do much toward making these nations willingly obedient and rendering unnecessary an international military establishment. It will not, however, do away with the necessity of international civil officials. Arbitrators, commissioners, ambassadors and other foreign ministers, and consuls are and will continue to be necessary to the conduct of business between nations. To these officials may be added delegates to an international congress — a concert of nations — whose business it will be to determine more definitely the details of international law and to promote such

International
administration

uniformity of national legislation as will secure the greatest good of all mankind. Uniformity of legislation and coöperation in its enforcement might relate to the suppression of crime and the removal from society of everything that fosters crime. Among these things may be named the social evil, and traffic in liquor and in opium and similar drugs. Of greater consequence still would be the coöperation of the nations in furthering the development of industry, commerce, science, art, philosophy, and religion — everything that makes for a richer life, higher ideals, greater tolerance, and more intimate and sympathetic relations among the citizens of all nations.

In this suggested unity of nations there need be no sacrifice of nationality. This hoped-for world-wide social organism of the future may well consist of all the different races and nationalities of mankind. Each individual may be loyal to his own country and people without being less loyal to humanity.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

PART I

Chapter I. The Function of Schools

1. Why are there no schools among primitive peoples?
2. Under what conditions do higher schools develop?
3. Why are courses of study rapidly changing?
4. Explain why secondary education for all is more necessary now than it was a century ago.
5. Why is college education becoming more general?
6. What is the twofold purpose of schools?
7. What does it mean to be educated?
8. What is culture?

Chapter II. The Meaning of Civilization

1. Explain the difference between biological and social heredity.
2. How does civilization begin?
3. Why are the terms "savagery," "barbarism," and "civilization" only relative?
4. What elements of civilization are found among savages?
5. What elements of barbarism are still found among civilized peoples?
6. On what grounds are peoples classified as barbarian or civilized?
7. (a) What aspects of civilization seem generally to develop most rapidly? (b) What most slowly? (c) How do you account for this?
8. What is the most urgent need as a next step in social progress?

Chapter III. The Material Benefits of Civilization

1. (a) Name some of the most common material benefits of a primitive civilization. (b) Show how social life is modified by these material goods. (c) What evils may befall a savage tribe for want of these first elements of civilization?
2. How do you distinguish between necessities and luxuries?
3. What kinds of material benefits contribute most to real progress?
4. How may material benefits become a hindrance (a) to individual progress? (b) to race progress?
5. What makes a modern luxury a real benefit?

Chapter IV. Our Scientific Inheritance

1. How does science differ from mythology?
2. (a) Name some of the oldest sciences known to man. (b) Why were these sciences developed earlier than others?
3. (a) From what different points of view may persons be interested in science? (b) Explain this phrase, "Science for science's sake."
4. What has specialization to do with the advancement of science?
5. State some of the material benefits that have come from the following sciences: surgery, bacteriology, chemistry.
6. How may an individual profit by a science to him unknown?
7. Why should one know more science than he uses in material ways?
8. Show how science is opposed to superstition.
9. Why have the social sciences developed slowly?

Chapter V. Our Literary Inheritance

1. What is literature?
2. What elements in literature make for its permanency?
3. Show how the ideals and other characteristics of a people are expressed in their literature. Give illustrations.
4. What literature was used as a basis of education by (a) the ancient Egyptians? (b) the Jews before the fall of Jerusalem? (c) the Athenians before Pericles? (d) the Romans before they came under the intellectual influence of the Greeks? Show in each case how literature was related to the national life.
5. (a) How is a modern youth benefited by reading the literature of contemporary foreign peoples? (b) How may such readings by the youth of all nations influence progress?

Chapter VI. Our Political Inheritance

1. In what ways is the savage free and in what ways is he not free?
2. Does a law forbidding theft take away a man's freedom?
3. Explain this statement: "Man is not born free, he must acquire his freedom."
4. Explain the chief contributions to our political inheritance of each of the following peoples: (a) the Hebrews, (b) the Romans, (c) the Teutonic barbarians.
5. Explain the development of important political ideas in England from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries.

6. Show how the American Declaration of Independence was influenced by French political philosophy.
7. What has been the most distinctive political contribution of the United States of America?
8. Show how positive and constructive functions of government have recently gained in importance over the more negative functions.
9. Name some of the chief obstacles in the way of further political progress.

Chapter VII. Social Institutions — Family, Church, State

1. Name the most fundamental social institutions. Why these?
2. Show how the family as an institution is a most important part of our race inheritance.
3. How does the family prepare the individual for life in other institutions?
4. What great virtue may family life cultivate?
5. What are the most common fundamental notions of religion?
6. Why is the church intimately associated with the lives of its members?
7. In what ways does the church further moral progress?
8. (a) Name the most important purposes of the state. (b) Show how these purposes are related to the welfare of the individual.
9. What are the essential conditions of progress from monarchy or aristocracy to democracy?
10. Should an institution be regarded as an end in itself or as a means to social welfare?
11. Show that if a social institution is to serve any moral purpose it must change to meet social conditions.

Chapter VIII. The Solidarity of the Race

1. Explain how there may be unity in diversity.
2. Show how the laws of nature indicate a measure of unity in all things.
3. (a) Show how the interdependence of parts increases with diversity of function. (b) How do our economic relations illustrate this principle?
4. In what ways other than economic is the individual dependent upon the society of his time?

5. Give illustrations (a) of man's economic dependence upon the past; (b) of his intellectual dependence; (c) of his esthetic dependence.
6. How does participation in the spiritual inheritance of the race by one individual help the others?
7. How is the fact of race solidarity related to race progress?
8. What is meant by the conservation of spiritual resources?

Chapter IX. The Use of the Natural Resources of the Earth

1. What is a natural resource?
2. By what right does a government claim the ownership or regulation of all natural resources within its territory?
3. Explain how natural resources may be summarized under the term "land."
4. (a) Why does government grant individual title to land?
(b) What are the usual limitations in making such grants?
5. Why are some lands withheld from entry?
6. (a) What is meant by the "unearned increment"? (b) By whom is this value produced?
7. (a) Under what conditions does water become a valuable resource? (b) Explain the various bases of value in water and the need of government control of this resource.
8. The value of a natural resource is relative to what?

Chapter X. The Conservation of Natural Resources

1. What is meant by conservation?
2. Name some resources (a) that can be conserved by non-use; (b) others that cannot be thus conserved.
3. Show how failure to use a resource may be opposed to conservation.
4. To what extent may private ownership become detrimental? Give illustrations.
5. What measures is government taking to conserve timber?
6. (a) Why is the preservation of bird life a measure of conservation?
(b) What exceptions are there to this rule? Why?
7. What bad consequences may result from exhaustion of the coal supply?
8. What should be the aim of government in its measures of conservation?
9. Why do some business men ignore the principles of conservation?

Chapter XI. The Conservation of Human Life

1. Why is the conservation of human life the central problem of all conservation?
2. Why is the social evil one of the greatest enemies of human conservation?
3. (a) What arguments have been used in opposition to prohibition of the liquor traffic? (b) How would you reply to these arguments?
4. What kind and conditions of labor are a hindrance to child development?
5. Why are greater legal safeguards provided for women employees than for men?
6. Why is it not best to leave the hours and conditions of labor to be regulated entirely by competition between employers?
7. Why are health boards given almost military powers?
8. Is the cure or the prevention of disease more important?
9. Name some of the chief factors in preventing disease.
10. What may government do for the promotion of public health?
11. To what extent are human resources or talents undeveloped for want of educational and social opportunities, or because of excessive toil and poverty?

Chapter XII. Public Ownership or Regulation of Public Utilities

1. (a) What is a public utility? (b) How does it differ from a natural resource?
2. Why is competition in a public utility often opposed to economy and efficiency? Give illustrations.
3. (a) What evils may come from unregulated private ownership of public utilities? (b) What evils have been connected with public ownership? (c) How may these be overcome? Give illustrations in each case.
4. (a) Why is public regulation of conditions of service as important as regulation of rates? (b) Show how this applies to street-car and telephone service.
5. What does compulsory right of way for railways through private property indicate in regard to the relation of the road to the public?
6. (a) Why do municipalities generally own their water supply and water systems? (b) May the same reasons apply to some other utilities?

7. In view of the present size and monopolistic power of industrial concerns, is there still a good reason for adhering to the old basis of distinction between public service and non-public service corporations?

Chapter XIII. Public Regulation of Food Markets

1. Why is public regulation of food markets more necessary now than ever before?

2. Show how knowledge of chemistry may be applied in either good or evil purposes.

3. What led (a) to the passage of pure food laws? (b) to public restriction on the manufacture and sale of patent medicines?

4. Why is it desirable to have public inspection of the meat supply?

5. How does public inspection of fruit and vegetables on the market react favorably upon the practice of agriculture?

6. (a) Show in what ways inspection of dairies protects the public. (b) How is such inspection related to infant mortality? (c) What is the effect of public inspection upon the dairy industry?

7. (a) What is a score card? (b) How may it be a means of improving foodstuffs and market conditions?

Chapter XIV. Public Regulation of the Selling Price of Necessities Controlled by Monopolies

1. (a) What are some of the causes of abnormally high prices of human necessities? (b) Which of these causes justify high prices and which do not? (c) How can the unjustifiable causes be eliminated? (d) Is the present consumption of the luxuries of life at all responsible for the high cost of necessities of life? (e) Do monopolistic prices necessarily follow large-scale production?

2. Why does the law of supply and demand in the regulation of prices fail to work in some instances?

3. Where a monopoly controls the supply, how may a public commission determine what is a reasonable price for (a) a ton of coal? (b) a hundred pounds of sugar? (c) a case of storage eggs?

4. (a) Is monopolistic control of a product necessarily and always to be condemned? (b) Under what conditions may the law recognize such control? (c) This recognition would entail what responsibility on the part of the government?

5. What should be the attitude of the government toward speculators who try to corner the market?

Chapter XV. The Basis of Private Property

1. On what basis do persons hold or claim property? Illustrate in case of (a) real estate; (b) personal property in tools of production and household or office furniture; (c) stocks and bonds; (d) patents and copyrights.

2. Why is government more concerned in guarding and regulating property in stocks and bonds than in other forms of property?

3. (a) To what limitations is private property right subject? (b) May a person do anything he pleases with his own? (c) Under what conditions may title to property be canceled by government?

4. (a) How and why are government grants of private title to land limited? (b) Why do these limitations fail to prevent concentration of land ownership?

5. What are the merits and the defects of the labor theory of property?

6. (a) What are the merits of the utilitarian theory of property? (b) In what institutions are its merits most fully exemplified?

Chapter XVI. Principles of Taxation

1. Why is government under the necessity of levying taxes?

2. (a) On what principles should government determine its system of taxation? (b) How should the tax rate be determined?

3. Where a property tax system is in force, what class of property may properly be exempt from taxation? Within what limits?

4. What exemption should be provided in case (a) of an income tax? (b) of an inheritance tax?

5. What may be said in favor (a) of income and inheritance taxes? (b) of a tax on natural resources?

6. (a) What are the objections to a general property tax? (b) What may be said in favor of such a tax?

7. What are the objections (a) to a poll tax? (b) to indirect taxes?

8. What reasons may be given for taxing the unearned increment on land values?

9. What system or systems of taxation conform most nearly to the requirements of social ethics?

Chapter XVII. Reasons for Limiting Taxation

1. (a) Why are public authorities limited in their powers of taxation? (b) What other needs may be more important than some public improvements?

2. Can ability to pay be measured by public needs? Explain.
3. How may ability to pay be determined? What other factors than public needs must be taken into account? Why?
4. (a) On what principles must public needs be limited? (b) How are public needs like private needs in respect to these limitations?
5. How may reasonable public expenditures tend to equalize opportunities?
6. (a) Why may public officials be tempted to create excessive tax burdens? (b) In what way may the limitations of the taxing power have a salutary effect upon public officials?

Chapter XVIII. Financial Support of Public Education

1. How is taxation for the support of public education justified? How is the problem related to (a) the right of a democracy to self-preservation? (b) to the social obligations implied in the fact of race solidarity?
2. Show how the idea of publicly supported schools has grown.
3. (a) Under what conditions is public support of professional schools justifiable? (b) Under what conditions may such support not be justifiable?
4. Show how public support of schools calls for a response of these schools to local needs.
5. How may the principle upon which public schools are supported be extended to such educational agencies as (a) playgrounds? (b) gymnasiums? (c) libraries? (d) public lecture courses? (e) public concerts and recitals? (f) public picture shows?
6. Why should a bachelor be taxed to support educational institutions?
7. Can you justify the statement that it is the duty of the state to give all its children equal opportunities to develop their native powers?
8. Show how it is a positive loss to allow the native powers of an individual to remain undeveloped.

PART II

Chapter I. The Nature of Justice

1. How is the idea of justice expressed in (a) the Mosaic code? (b) Plato's "Republic"? (c) Herbert Spencer's philosophy?
2. What common element may be found in the various historical notions of justice?
3. (a) What is retribution? (b) How does it operate independently of human volition?
4. What view of justice is embodied in criminal law? Why?
5. Why is Herbert Spencer's definition of justice inadequate?
6. (a) What bearing have the facts of race inheritance and race solidarity upon the principle of justice? (b) Show how justice includes benevolence and all the so-called individual virtues.

Chapter II. The Relation of the Individual to Social Institutions

1. Why are social organizations necessary?
2. (a) Why should persons be loyal to the institutions of which they are members? (b) In case of conflict, what type of loyalty may take precedence?
3. Loyalty to a political party should be subordinate to what?
4. How do you distinguish between a social and an anti-social institution?
5. (a) What are the possibilities for good in organizations of people engaged in the same occupation? Give illustrations. (b) What are the possibilities for evil in such organizations? Illustrate.
6. Why is there danger in an organization without an aim?
7. State the aims of the student organizations you know and estimate their relative merits.

Chapter III. Parent and Child

1. What qualities of mind and character are regarded as (a) primarily masculine? (b) as primarily feminine? What bearing have these facts upon family life?
2. (a) What are some of the chief obstacles to successful, happy family life? (b) How may these obstacles be overcome?
3. How does the exercise of parental responsibility develop character?
4. (a) Why should children be trained in obedience to parental authority? (b) What responsibility does this entail upon the parent?

5. (a) Why is example better than precept? (b) Is example alone a sufficient guide to children and youths? (c) Is negative teaching sufficient?

6. Make a list of the most important virtues that should be taught to children in the home.

7. Why should mental defectives and degenerates be segregated and denied the privilege of marriage?

8. (a) What duty on the part of the physically and mentally strong is implied in the ideal of race improvement? (b) Under what circumstances may such individuals be morally exempt from this duty?

Chapter IV. The Family as an Economic Unit

1. (a) How have new industrial conditions brought radical changes in the economic life of the family? (b) How may these changes affect the social life of the family?

2. How is the great increase in apartment houses as homes affecting the family life?

3. How does the want of a permanent home influence family life?

4. What guarantee have we that the economic changes that are taking place will not entirely destroy the solidarity of the home?

5. What should be the attitude of a parent toward (a) the family property? (b) his own property?

6. How may parents promote family unity, comfort, and happiness by avoiding unnecessary individual expenses? Give illustrations.

7. (a) How may parents indulge in unwise self-sacrifice? (b) How may parents and children be injured by such sacrifice?

8. (a) Why should children be trained to render some service to the family? (b) What may be the nature of this service?

Chapter V. Vocations

1. What is (a) a vocation? (b) an avocation?

2. What should be determined before choosing a vocation?

3. Why should a rich man have a vocation?

4. (a) What are the advantages to a poor man of having a vocation as his permanent occupation? (b) Why is this also socially beneficial?

5. Do you think that every young man should have selected his vocation by the time he completes his high-school education?

6. What are the dangers of overcrowding the non-productive forms of service?

7. (a) Why do few college men engage in material production?
(b) As the number of college students increases what will be the effect of this tendency?
8. What are some of the advantages of occupations having to do with material production?
9. Why should every woman qualify for two vocations?
10. In what vocations, as a rule, do women excel?

Chapter VI. Business Organisations

1. (a) Why is coöperation in business now a necessity? (b) What legal provisions are generally made for such coöperation on a large scale?
2. What are the advantages of the corporate method of doing business (a) to the man of small means? (b) to society?
3. (a) In what kinds of business is the corporation method generally a necessity? (b) In what kinds is it little needed and least successful?
4. Give reasons why a business corporation should not exercise all the economic rights and privileges that are legally given to it.
5. Why is it difficult for a corporation to develop a sense of moral responsibility?
6. How should life-insurance business be managed?
7. What are the duties (a) of stockholders in a corporation? (b) of directors?
8. Why is the non-stockholding public interested in the conduct of the business of a corporation?
9. Of what use to society is the man who gambles in stocks?

Chapter VII. Religious and Charitable Institutions

1. What changes have occurred in the relation of the church to the state?
2. Why are houses of worship generally exempt from taxation?
3. What purposes do churches have in common?
4. (a) Why is a system of morals a prominent part of church doctrine? (b) Why is a church more than a society for moral culture?
5. What is the difference between the merely rationalistic and the genetic method of criticizing institutions?
6. What are some of the functions common to churches and to other brotherhoods?
7. Show how religious organizations provide opportunities for service.

Chapter VIII. The School Community

1. (a) What is civic pride? (b) How may it be expressed in the school community?
2. What constitutes loyalty to the school community? Illustrate.
3. (a) Why is moral courage one of the most praiseworthy virtues? (b) How can it be cultivated in the school community life?
4. In any plan of student self-government, why may not school officials turn over to students *without reservation* all matters of student discipline?
5. Upon what does the success of student government depend?
6. In what ways may the successful practice of student self-government contribute to the making of better citizens?

Chapter IX. Coöperative Activities in Rural Districts

1. In a democracy, to what extent does coöperative effort through government imply compulsion?
2. Why should there be many purely voluntary coöperative activities in a community?
3. (a) For what purpose does a farmer owning land need capital? (b) How may he secure this capital?
4. What kinds of help may a farmer receive through government agencies?
5. (a) Why has the problem of marketing farm produce become very important? (b) What solutions of this problem are being proposed? (c) What can farmers do toward solving this problem in ways beneficial to producers and consumers?
6. How may farmers coöperate to improve the social, intellectual, and esthetic opportunities in the country?

Chapter X. County Government

1. Why is the maintenance of good roads an important problem of county government?
2. Why is the poll tax being discontinued?
3. How is road sprinkling related to public health?
4. (a) Why are health conditions in some respects worse in the country than in the city? (b) What has this to do with county government?

5. Why should county government concern itself with (a) relief for the poor? (b) work for the unemployed? (c) medical care of the destitute? (d) widows' pensions?
6. What are the advantages of consolidating the schools of a county, or of a large division of a county, under one administration?
7. How may the schools better serve the communities in which they are located?

Chapter XI. The Town and the Citizen

1. (a) For what purposes may a village profitably incorporate as a town? (b) What public functions may better be left to the county? Why?
2. What public functions may be carried on to the best advantage in connection with the schools?
3. (a) How may the habit of "boosting" be abused? (b) What evil consequences may follow such abuse?
4. Under what circumstances must the permanent growth of a town depend upon the establishment of manufacturing industries?
5. How may business houses contribute toward the development of a town?
6. What makes a town attractive to city people as a place of residence?
7. How may the residents of a town manifest their civic pride?

Chapter XII. Problems of the City

1. Name the most important problems of municipal government. Why these?
2. What are the chief means of physical sanitation in a city?
3. Why should a city own its water supply?
4. Why should residents be compelled to connect their drainpipes with the sewer?
5. Why should spitting on the sidewalk and in other public places be forbidden?
6. Why is the culinary use of water from surface wells in cities objectionable?
7. (a) How may want of thoughtfulness in regard to public-health regulations be regarded as a crime? (b) Should a citizen report his neighbor for violation of a city ordinance?
8. Where soft coal must be used, why is public action and expenditure necessary to overcome the smoke nuisance?

9. Why not allow the tenement houses, the hotels, the rooming houses, and the cafés to regulate themselves by competition?

10. (a) Why should the city control its amusements? (b) How may it connect its amusements with its public educational system?

11. Mention four kinds or forms of protection now assumed by the city but which were thought unnecessary when the place was a small rural settlement.

Chapter XIII. The State or Province

1. (a) Why is education the chief business of the state? (b) Why should it be? (c) From what source do local boards of education derive their authority?

2. (a) Why should public lands be made a permanent endowment for public education? (b) May not any natural resource be thus used? (c) How should these endowments be managed by the state?

3. How may a state tax system be properly harmonized with all other units of taxation — county, city, national?

4. What are the duties of (a) a state industrial commission? (b) a state public utilities commission? (c) a state insurance commissioner? (d) a state labor commissioner?

5. (a) Why does society punish criminals? (b) Why should the citizen be accountable to the state for wrongdoing? (c) Why does the state maintain juvenile courts, probation officers, and parental schools?

6. In what ways may the state and the nation cooperate in the promotion of industries?

7. In view of the recognized demand for greater control over industrial, business, and commercial enterprises, what changes should take place in the relative powers of the state and federal governments?

Chapter XIV. The Nation

1. (a) Why do civilized nations maintain armies and navies? (b) What are the advantages and what are the disadvantages of military preparedness? (c) Does the military life inspire true patriotism? (d) Would national solidarity be destroyed if the military functions were absolutely eliminated?

2. How does the American federal government promote (a) foreign trade? (b) domestic trade and industries? (c) the welfare of wage earners? (d) education?

3. Why may public utilities be subject to public command through the national government?
4. (a) What has been the attitude of the American government toward the lottery? (b) How has this attitude been expressed? (c) How else has the federal government been concerned with public morals? (d) What more needs to be done?
5. How may the national government facilitate local community use of natural resources?
6. What is meant by (a) the spoils system? (b) the pork barrel? Illustrate.
7. For what legitimate purposes may public debt be incurred?

Chapter XV. The Suffrage

1. Why is the suffrage the elector's privilege and duty more than it is his right?
2. How is the elective franchise connected historically with military service?
3. (a) On what grounds, in a modern democratic state, is the privilege of suffrage given to any class of citizens? (b) Would it be proper and practical to grant the franchise only after careful examination of the citizen's intellectual and moral attainments?
4. What are the chief arguments in favor of and against woman suffrage?
5. Why is the suffrage denied to (a) minors? (b) semi-civilized groups within a republic? (c) criminals?
6. Why are primary nomination elections sometimes unsatisfactory?
7. (a) Why is it generally desirable that electors affiliate with political parties? (b) What should be the limitations of party allegiance? (c) How do political parties sometimes become a hindrance to good government?
8. Upon what does the strength and progress of a democratic nation depend?

Chapter XVI. Public Office

1. What should public officials recognize as the chief purpose of government?
2. How is it determined whether an office shall be (a) elective or appointive? (b) salaried or non-salaried?
3. What type of public service calls for permanency in office? Why?

4. (a) What may properly be regarded as excessive campaign expenses? (b) What are the chief objections to such expenses? (c) What remedies should be applied?

5. What is the purpose of corrupt practice laws?

6. (a) Name some of the evil consequences of partisan conduct on the part of public officials. (b) What should be the attitude of either majority or minority members of a legislative body toward measures proposed by the opposition?

7. Whom should a lawmaker feel obligated to serve, his constituents or the people generally?

Chapter XVII. International Relations

1. On what foundations do the laws of nations rest?

2. Why are the sovereign rights of a small or weak nation regarded as equal to those of a great and powerful nation?

3. (a) Why is it best to settle international disputes, if possible, by diplomacy? (b) To what process is this analogous in case of trouble between individuals?

4. Why is it better to have a permanent international court of arbitration rather than arbitrators especially appointed for each case?

5. The exclusion of cases of national honor from courts of arbitration is analogous to what in the conduct of individuals?

6. Where international disputes are settled by war, what are the chances for or against a just settlement?

7. (a) What are the advantages of the union of states under a federal government? (b) How may these advantages be extended to the community of nations?

8. Does or does not the highest type of morality require that we consider first our duty to our country, and secondly, our duty to humanity?

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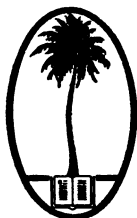
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